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VISHVESHVARANAND VEDIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Editor
Ashvini Agrawal

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Ashvini Agrawal

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This Issue of the Research Bulletin
is
Dedicated to the Sacred Memory of

(30-9-1897 - 1-8-1973)
Padama Bhushan Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu
M.A., Shastri, M.O.L. (Pb.), O.d'A. (Fr.), Kt.C.T. (It.)

Founder Director

Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute
Hoshiarpur

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VEDIC SANSKRIT: A LINGUISTIC APPROACH

Ram Gopal

Vedic Sanskrit obviously means the language of the Vedic Literature which comprises the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedāṅgas*. But according to the ancient Indian authorities, this definition is wide of the mark, for Āpastamba defines the *Veda* as मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेद - नामधेयम्. This definition excludes the *Vedāṅgas* from the *Veda*. As the *Āraṇyakas* are regarded as forming the part of the *Brāhmaṇas* and some of the important *Upaniṣads* form the part of the *Āraṇyakas*, they may be thus accommodated in the *Veda*. I would not like to go into the intricacies of this proplem in this article. I can only add that the ancient Indian authorities accept Āpastamba's definition of *Veda*. For instance, Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* treats the *Brāhmaṇa* texts as the *Veda* and cites the following passage from a *Brāhmaṇa* as the *Veda*: "वेदे खल्वपि। पयोव्रतो ब्राह्मण: । यवागूव्रतो राजन्य: । आमिक्षाव्रतो वैश्य: ।"

If we accept the view of some modern Vedic scholars who declare only the *Mantra* portion of the *Saṃhitās* as the real *Veda*, then what would be the position of the *Saṃhitās* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* in which the *Brāhmaṇa* portion is mixed with the *Mantra* portion. So we cannot escape from the definition of *Veda* suggested by Āpastamba and other ancient Indian authorities. Therefore, the present discussion about Vedic Sanskrit must be devoted to the language of the Vedic *Saṃhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and some important *Upaniṣads*.

It may be noted that the language of the Vedic Mantras had already become archaic and difficult to understand prior to the composition of the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts which attempt an interpretation of the Vedic *Mantras* in their own way. Later on the *Padakāras*, the *Prātiśākhyas*, and the authors of the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta* (extant and extinct) have all made a valuable contribution to the interpretation of the Vedic *Mantras*. A thorough study of the language of the various Vedic texts leads us to the conclusion that in fact Vedic Sanskrit is the language of the Vedic *Mantras*, and the later Vedic texts interpret them in accordance with their own ideas and understanding of the ancient Vedic lore.

If we go from the later Vedic *Saṃhitās* to the *Ṛgveda*, we must admit without demur that the language of the *Ṛgveda* is

Vedic Sanskrit *par excellence*, because this *Veda* consists of only *Mantras* and all the other Vedic *Saṃhitās* are highly indebted to it. The *Sāmaveda* is little more than a compilation of the *Ṛgvedic Mantras*. The *Atharva-Veda* and the *Saṃhitās* of the *Yajurveda* contain a large number of the *RV.* Mantras. If we compare the language the *Brāhmaṇa*-portion of the *Yajurveda-Saṃhitas* with Classical Sanskrit, we do not find much difference between them. For instance, we take the following passage from the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* (1,5,7,3): द्वादश मासा: संवत्सर:। संवत्सर एवं प्रति तिष्ठति। यथा वै पुरुषोऽश्वो गौर्जीर्यति एवमग्निराहितो जीर्यति। संवत्सरस्य परस्ताद् अग्निपावमानीभिरूपतिष्ठते। पुनर्नवमेवैनमजरं करोति।

When we come to the later *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads*, the difference between the later Vedic language and Classical Sanskrit further narrows down.

The language of the *Ṛgveda* stands at a different level, at a very high pedestal. In respect of grammar and vocabulary the language of the *Ṛgveda* is far removed from Classical Sanskrit. Therefore, a student of Classical Sanskrit will find it difficult to understand the meaning of the *Ṛgvedic Mantras* until and unless he has acquired a thorough knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit and vocabulary. There is no doubt that the Pāṇinian Grammar is helpful to some extent in understanding the salient features of Vedic Sanskrit. But such sweeping *Sūtras* as व्यत्ययो बहुलम्, छन्दसि बहुलम्, वा छन्दसि leave the subject vague and the student puzzled. In this connection Patañjali cites the following कारिका -

सुप्तिङुपग्रहलिङ्गनराणां, कालहलच्स्वरकर्तृयडां च।
व्यत्ययमिच्छति शास्त्रकृदेपां, सोऽपि च सिध्यति बाहुलकेन॥

If we accept this sweeping generalisation about Vedic Grammar, we are driven to the conclusion that Vedic Sanskrit does not observe any grammatical rule and accordingly we may put any arbitrary interpretation on any Vecic word according to our perception and preconception. Some scholars have resorted to this sweeping dictum to misinterpret the *Veda*. In fact the real intention of Pāṇini was only to point out the wide gap between Vedic Sanskrit and Classical Sanskrit in respest of the grammatical peculiarities mentioned there. However, some interpreters have exploited this rule to impose their own preconceived notions on the Vedic *Mantras*.

In order to understand Vedic Sanskrit a student has got to master the fundamental rules of Vedic Grammar in regard to *Sandhi*, Declension, Compounds, Conjugation, Verbal suffixes, prepositions, indeclinables and accent. It is not possible to go into details in this article. I will therefore, point out here only a few prominent features of Vedic Grammar.

It is a remarkable peculiarity of the declension of Vedic Sanskrit that a number of alternative inflexional forms from nouns are formed in the Nominative, Accusative and Instrumental case. For instance, we find the following alternative forms from देव, शुचि, मधु—

देव

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	देवः	देवा, देवौ	देवाः, देवासः
Acc.	देवम्	देवा, देवौ	देवान्
Inst.	देवेन, देवा	देवाभ्याम्	देवैः, देवेभिः

शुचि (feminine)

Inst. शुच्या, शुची, शुचि

मधु (Neuter)

Nom. & Acc.: मधु मध्वी, मधुनी मधू, मधु, मधूनि

Inst. मधुना, मध्वा

Abl.& Gen. मधुनः, मधोः, मध्वः

Locative मधुनि, मधौ, मधवि

The feminine words ending in ई are inflected in two different ways. Some such feminine words are inflected on the pattern of देवी, whereas some others on the pattern of वृकी. In the देवी type inflexion the case-suffix is elided in the Nominative singular and in the dual Number of both the Nominative and Accusative:

देवी

Nom. Sing.: देवी Nom. & Acc. Plural: देवीः

Acc. Sing. देवीम्

Nom. & Acc. Dual: देवी

Dative Sing: देव्यै

Ablative & Genitive Sing: देव्याः

In the वृकी -type of declension the case-suffix is not elided as shown below:

वृकी

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
Nom.	वृकीः	वृक्या	वृक्यः
Acc.	वृक्यम्	वृक्या	वृक्यः
Dative Sing.	वृक्ये		
Abla. & Gen.Sing.	वृक्यः		

In Vedic Sanskrit we find 56 Nominative Singular forms of feminine words ending in ई in which the case-suffix स् is not elided, whereas the Number of such feminine forms like लक्ष्मीः and श्रीः is very small in Classical Sanskrit.

Similarly there are a number of alternative inflexional forms of the pronouns अस्मद् and युष्मद् e.g. Dative Plural अस्मे, अस्मभ्यम्

Inst. Sing:	त्वया, त्वा
Gen. Dual	युवोः, युवयोः
Loc. Plural	युष्मे, युष्मासु

Most of the nominal compounds in Vedic Sanskrit consist of two words in comparison with long compounds of Classical Sanskrit. The formation of *Devatā-dvandva* compounds and Governing compounds is a special feature of Vedic Sanskrit. Both the members of *Devatā-dvandva* compound retain their own inflexional forms and accent, e. g., द्यावापृथिवी, मातरापितरा, मित्रावरुणा

Moreover, the intrusion of a word or words between the two members of a *Devatā-Dvandva* compound is also found in the *Ṛgveda*, e.g., मित्रयोः वरुणयोः द्यावा ह क्षामा

(*RV.*X, 12, 1). The *Ṛgveda* contains a number of adjectival compounds in which the first member, being a present participle, governs in sense the second member and retains its accent;

e.g.,धारयत्कविः“he who supports the seers” विदद्वसुः “he who wins wealth” यातयज्जनः “he who stimulates people.” Such compounds have been designated as Governing Compounds by the modern Vedic Scholars. Pāṇini has not dealt with such compounds. The *Bhāṣyakāras* like Sāyaṇa explain them as बहुव्रीहि compounds in some passages and as तत्पुरुष in others. But no such compound is met with in the later language.

The Conjugation system of Vedic Sanskrit, especially that of the *Ṛgveda*, is unequalled in the richness of alternative forms relating to various tenses and moods. Without going into details I will point out here only a few remarkable features of Vedic conjugation system. It is a unique feature of Vedic Sanskrit that modal forms belonging to Subjunctive, Injunctive, Optative and Imperative are formed from the stems of the Present system, Perfect system and Aorist system ; e.g.;

Subjunctive (Third Person Singular)

from the Present stem: भवाति, भवात्

from the Prefect stem: चिकेतति, चिकेतत्

from the Aorist stem: नेपति, नेपत्

Injunctive (Third Person Singular)

from the Imperfect stem: भवत्

from the Plu Perfect stem: दूद्योत्

from the Aorist stem: वाक्षीत्

Optative (Third Person Singular)

from the Present stem: भवेत्

from the Perfect stem: जगम्यात्

from the Aorist stem: वोचेत्

Imperative (Third Person Singular)

from the Present stem: भवतु

from the Perfect stem: बभूतु

from the Aorist stem: भूतु

Vedic Sanskrit is characterised by the frequent use of the Subjunctive mood which also expresses the Future tense, besides expressing intention and exhortation; e.g., आ घा ता गच्छान् उत्तरा युगानि यत्र जामयः कृणवन् अजामि।

(RV. X,10,10)."Such times will indeed come later on when sisters and brothers will do acts unbecoming of the kinsfolk."

As a result of the frequent use of Subjunctive mood to express the Future tense, the proper Future tense (लृट्) is sparsely used and is formed from only fifteen roots in the *RV*. The Subjunctive has completely disappeared in the later language. So Pāṇini says लिङर्थे लेट्. We find in the *Ṛgveda* a considerable number of unaugmented forms of the Imperfect, the Pluperfect and the Aorist, e. g., भवत्, विदत्, गमत्, धक्, जीजनत्, जभरत्, दीधनत्, स्तोपम् etc.

Some of the unaugmented forms denote the Past tense, whereas others convey the sense of the Injunctive mood, i.e., intention, exhortation, etc. It is, therefore, a serious problem of Vedic exegesis to ascertain the meaning of such unaugmented forms and to determine whether a particular unaugmented form denotes the Past tense or the Injunctive mood. In the later language the richness of unaugmented forms has disappeared and the use of the augmentless forms is found only in conjunction with the negative particle मा, e.g., मा भूत्, मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूः.

The multiplicity of Infinitives is a notable peculiarity of Vedic Sanskrit. In place of the infinitive तुम् found in Classical Sanskrit, there are as many as nineteen Infinitives in Vedic Sanskrit, which are classified by the modern Vedic Scholars into five different categories designated as Accusative, Dative, Ablative, Genetive and Locative in accordance with the nature of their terminations. Pāṇini has also noticed this peculiarity of Vedic Sanskrit and has devoted half a dozen *Sūtras* (III,4,9-13) to the enumeration of the Vedic Infinitives.

The texts of the Vedic *Saṃhitās* (excepting the incomplete *Paippalāda Atharvaveda)*, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* bear accent marks.Accent plays an important role in determining the meaning of Vedic words. For instance, if the word ब्रह्मन् is accented on the first syllable, it means "prayer." But if it is accented on the second syllable ब्रह्मन्, it means "the devotee who offers the prayer." Similarly when the word यशेस् is accented on the first syllable, it means "fame." But when it is accented on the second syllable य॒शस् it means "famous" (यशस्विन्). In view of this extraordinary importance of accent in deciding the meaning of Vedic words, Patañjali quotes the following verse in his *Mahābhāṣya* to emphasize the importance of accent:-

> दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा, मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह।
>
> स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति, यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्॥

I would briefly explain the legendary background of the example इन्द्र॑शत्रुः cited in this verse. According to a legend narrated in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (II,4,12,1 ff) Tvaṣṭṛ performed a sacrifice in order to avenge the murder of his son Viśvasūpa by Indra. But when Tvaṣṭṛ made the offering in the sacrificial fire, pronouncing the formula इन्द्र॑शत्रुः-वर्धस्व, he made an error of accent and pronounced the compound इन्द्र॑शत्रुः with its accent on the first syllable. As a result of this error इन्द्र॑शत्रुः became a बहुव्रीहि compound and conveyed the opposite meaning "Let him grow, whose slayer is Indra." But Tvaṣṭṛ actually intended the meaning "Let the slayer of Indra grow." For this purpose he should have pronounced the compound इ॒न्द्र॒श॒त्रुः with its accent on the final syllable in order to make it a तत्पुरुप compound.

I have here mentioned only a few noteworthy peculiarities of Vedic Sanskrit in respect of its Grammar.

Now the question arises: Why and how was the mighty Sarasvatī of Vedic Sanskrit abounding in the multiplicity alternative inflexional and verbal forms reduced to a trickle in the later times ? It is a moot point whether the variety of alternative forms is owing to poetic license or to the fluid state of linguistic development. In my view Vedic Sanskrit of the *Ṛṣi Kavis* of the *Ṛgveda* represents an amalgam of different dialects of the Vedic language. As regards their disappearance in the post-Ṛgvedic language, there occurred a break in the creative and poetic tradition of the *Ṛṣi Kavis* of the *Ṛgveda*. Therefore, the later *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* copiously borrow from the *Ṛgveda*, and there is hardly any hymn or poem in the later Vedic works to stand comparison with the poetry of the *Ṛgveda*. The language of the *Ṛgveda* abounding in the multiplicity of alternative forms is poetic, where as the language of the *Saṃhitās* of the *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* is mainly ritual-oriented, though a few hymns of the *Atharva-Veda* are undoubtedly poetic in nature. The *Ṛṣi Kavis* of the *Ṛgvedu* employ various alternative forms in order to express effectively different shades of poetic thoughts in a lucid style to suit the metre of their choice. But the language of ritualistic discourse and discussion is restricted in scope to employ different alternative forms. This fundamental difference between the subject-matter of the *Ṛgveda* and later Vedic works accounts for the scope and style of their language.

Besides the grammatical features of Vedic Sanskrit, its vocabulary presents formidable problems of interpretation. We are confronted with a three-fold problem concerning Vedic vocabulary. First, there are a number of such Vedic vocables which occur only once in the whole range of Vedic literature and their interpretation is only conjectural according to the context; e.g., इलीबिश (*RV*.1.33.12), करूळतिन् (toothless, IV, 30,24), कीकट (III,53,14), कुट (I,46,4), निप्पपिन् (I,104,5), बेकनाट, etc. A number of such rare words have been included in the Fourth Chapter of the *Nighaṇṭu* and have been explained by Yāska. The ancient Indian Commentators and modern Vedic scholars have advanced various conjectures about the meaning of such words, but no one can claim certainty in this regard.

In the second category fall those Vedic words whose meaning had become obscure prior to the composition of the *Nighaṇṭu* and *Nirukta*. Therefore, most of such obscure words are found compiled in the Fourth Chapter of the *Nighaṇṭu* and explained in the *Nirukta*. It is a daunting task to determine the correct meaning of such obscure Vedic words. The magnitude of this problem can be illustrated with a reference to the difficulties involved in the interpretation of the Vedic word शिप्रा. Its Nominative-Accusative Dual form शिप्रे is included in the Fourth Chapter of the *Nighaṇṭu*. As Yāska is not sure about the correct meaning of this obscure word, he suggests that it means either two jaws or two nostrils: शिप्रे हनू नासिके वा (*Nirukta* VI,17). The ancient Indian commentators, Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Sāyaṇa generally interpret शिप्रे as jaws, but where this meaning does not suit the context,(e.g., *RV.* V, 54,11), they suggest another meaning. The modern Vedic scholars have also not made much improvement upon the meanings suggested by the ancient Indian commentators, and have suggested about half a dozen meanings including those suggested by the ancient Indian authorities, e.g., jaws, nostrils, lips, cheeks, face, moustaches, a helmet, visors of a helmet, horn, etc. In this connection contradictory statements are also met with in the works of the modern scholars.For instance, though Macdonell translates शिप्रे as lips in his *Vedic Reader* and as lips and jaws in the *Vedic Mythology*, he observes in his former work: "It can hardly mean any thing but lips or moustaches ; as it could not well mean jaws which are *hanū*."

Most of the above-mentioned meanings like lips, jaws, moustaches, cheeks are cancelled by the following Rgvedic passages which state that the golden *Śiprās* are spread over the heads of the Maruts:-

*RV.*V,54.11 शिप्राः शीर्षसु वितता हिरण्ययीः

*RV.*VIII,7,25 शिप्राः शीर्षन् हिरण्ययीः

In the interpretation of these passages the ancient Indian commentators suggest the meaning शिरस्त्राण which is translated as a helmet by the modern scholars. But what about the interpretation of its dual form शिप्रे ? In order to ascertain the correct meaning of शिप्रा, let us bear in mind the following facts. First, this word is used in association with only Indra and the Maruts. Secondly, the word शिप्रा is employed twice in the Plural and about a dozen times in the Dual in the whole of Vedic literature, and it is never used in the Singular. Thirdly, since Indra and the Maruts are the deities if the middle region, the word शिप्रा naturally denotes some particular aspect of the atmosphere. Moreover, the use of its dual form शिप्रे in association with Indra further restricts its meaning to that aspect to the atmosphere which is described in the dual number in the *Ṛgveda*. We see that a number of Ṛgvedic verses (e.g., I 160,4; IV,42,3.6; VI,9,I; 15,9 etc.) use the dual form रजसी to denote the lower and upper strata of the atmosphere. Besides, the three-fold division of the atmosphere is mentioned in many other verses. So the obvious inference is that the dual form शिप्रे stands for the lower and the upper strata of the atmosphere and the plural form शिप्राः denotes the three strata of the atmosphere. The modern science recognises the division of the atmosphere in several strata and designates them as troposphere, stratosphere and ionosphere. But I do not claim any correspondence between the ancient Vedic division and the modern scientific division of the atmosphere. I have fully discussed this problem in a detailed Note to my English Translation of the *Ṛgveda* I,29,2.

The third problem regarding Vedic Vocabulary is to find out the metaphorical meaning of common words. Even if you know the literal meaning of each and every word in a Vedic verse, you will not be able to make out any sense unless you understand the figurative meaning of the words. This problem is best illustrated by the following verse of the *Ṛgveda* (IV,58,3):

चत्वारि शृंगा त्रयो अस्य पादा, द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृपभो रोरवीति, महो देवो मत्यां आ विवेश॥

Though there is no doubt about the literal meaning of any word of this verse, yet its real meaning still remains an enigma inspite of the best efforts or the ancient Indian Commentators and modern Vedic Scholars. The literal translation of the verse makes no sense and appears to be ludicrous: "He has got four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands. Bound in a three-fold manner the bull roars aloud. The mighty deity has entered into the mortals." There is a sharp difference of opinion among the ancient and modern Vedic scholars about its metaphorical meaning.

The *Nirukta* (XIII,7 which is regarded as a supplement) interprets it as the description of the sacrifice. This interpretation has been borrowed verbatim from the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* 1,2,16. Veṅkaṭamādhava also cites this interpretation. Sāyaṇa first quotes the sacrificial interpretation contained in the *Nirukta*, then offers its solar explanation, and finally refers to the view of the grammarians who interpret it as the description of शब्दब्रह्मन् Sāyaṇa adds that some scholars interpret it otherwise. In the *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya* on the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X,10,2) this verse is interpreted as the description of ब्रह्मन् in the form of प्रणव. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* explains it as the description of Grammar. Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on the *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā* (17,91) think that this verse either describes the sacrifice or the totality of sounds (शब्दग्राम as attempted in the *Mahābhāṣya*). In the opinion of Geldner, Soma is intended in this verse.

गो, अश्व, अद्रि, गिरि, पर्वत, पाणि, पितृ, मातृ, दुहितृ are some of the common words which are often figuratively employed in the *Veda*. For instance, the word गो figuratively denotes water, rays of light, earth etc., according to the context. Similarly the words अश्व and पाणि also denote the rays of light. The word पितृ stands for the heaven in a number of Vedic verses, e.g., द्यौष्पिता (*cf.* Latin *Jupiter*/Greek *Zeus Pater*). The word दुहितृ figuratively denotes Dawn (*Uṣas*) in many

Vedic verses. The metaphorical description of the relationship between Father (Heaven) and the daughter (*Uṣas*) in many *Ṛgvedic* verses (e.g., I,71,5; III,33,I; X,61,7) has led to the invention of a legend which (if interpreted literally) relates to Prajāpati's attemped incest with his daughter. According to the *Maitrayaṇī-Saṃhitā* Prajāpati became enamoured of his daughter Dawn; and when she turned into a doe, he transformed himself into a deer. Enraged at this act of Prajāpati, Rudra aimed his arrow at Prajāpati who promised to make Rudra the Lord of animals. Both the *Pañchaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* interpret Prajāpati's daughter as Dawn, whereas the *Ait. Br.* and the *Śat. Br.* put forward the view that the word दुहितृ stands for either *Sky* or *Dawn*. Lokamanya B. G. Tilak has attempted an astronomical interpretation of this legend.

In dealing with the vocabulary of Vedic Sanskrit the commentators and translators sometimes overlook the important historical fact that the meanings of its words have undergone changes in the course of millennia. So they read the meaning and ideas of the later times in the similar words of Vedic Sanskrit. I will cite a few examples to illustrate this point.

In his commentary of *RV*.X,I42,7 Sāyaṇa says that Jaritṛ and others thus praised Agni during the burn of Khāṇdava forest (mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*). If we accept this statement of Sāyaṇa, the *Ṛgveda* has got to be dated later than the Epic, which is a sheer absurdity. We may take another common word पुरोहित which occurs in the very first verse of the *Ṛgveda*:

अग्निमीले॒ पुरोहितं

यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम्।

होतारं रत्नधातमम्॥

Skandasvāmin and Sāyaṇa suggest two meanings of पुरोहित one traditional meaning i.e., the priest, and another derivative meaning, i.e., placed in front. Veṅkaṭa assigns only derivative meaning to it. But most of the modern translators render it as "the domestic priest" or " house priest" and syntatically connect it with यज्ञस्य of the second *Pāda*, relegating देवम् to ऋत्विजम् in disregard of the syntatical position in the *Pādas*. In fact पुरोहितम् is the adjective of अग्निम् of the first *Pāda*, and देवम् of the second *Pāda* is syntatically connected with यज्ञस्य of the same *Pāda*. In my English Translation of this verse, I have fully dealt with the problem and referred to more than half a dozen *Ṛgvedic* verses to elucidate this point. The word *Purohita* originally denoted any one placed in front, i.e., placed in a prominent position of honour. Later it came to mean the chief priest and still later it became the designation of a domestic priest.

Similarly the meaning of the word *Varṇa* has undergone several changes. In the *Ṛgveda* this word is mainly used to describe the colour of light and darkness. So there we come across such expressions as शुक्रं वर्णम्, अरुणं वर्णम् (of Dawn), कृष्णं वर्णम् (of Night), शुक्रं ज्योतिः, रुशद् वर्णम् "shining colour". The adjectives आर्य and दास are also used to qualify वर्ण and such expressions have given rise to the fallacious view that the word वर्ण in such phrases denotes the racial colour. Therefore, most of the modern historians have propounded a racial theory that the white-skinned Āryan invaders drove the black-coloured aborigines into the caves. I have fully discussed this theory in my book " The Vedic Language and Exegesis." In this article I would only say that the word *Dāsa* (accented on the final syllable) qualifying वर्णम् in *RV.*II,12,4 has got no racial connotation and it means "Vile". It is, therefore, said in this verse that Indra has hidden the vile colour, i.e., he has dispelled darkness. When the word आर्य is used in the *Ṛgveda* as an adjective, it means "good, kind", e.g., आर्यौ मित्रावरुणौ and as a noun it means "a devotee, worshipper." Therefore the phrase आर्यं वर्णम् like आर्यं ज्योतिः means "good colour," i.e., light. Without a qualifying adjective the word *Varṇa* means "light." Some modern scholars do not support the modern tendency to interpret the word *Varṇa* as caste in every Vedic passage. So Whitney observes in his English Translation of the *Atharva-Veda*" Emendation to वर्णैः (in place of वरुणैः) is a desperate and purely tentative one, as there is no evidence that *Varṇa* had assumed so early the sense of caste." Macdonell and Keith also partly accept this fact in the following words: "There is no trace in Vedic literature of any real distinction of colour save this main one" (i.e., दासं वर्णम्).

The initial न of several Vedic words has been misunderstood as the negative particle न, e.g.,

नासत्या, नपात्, नवेदस्, नक्षत्र

Through a similar misunderstanding of the word असुर a new word सुर has been coined.

Ram Gopal

It is a stupendous task to understand fully all the intricacies of the Vedic language and to unravel the mystery of Vedic thought. The Veda and Vedic Sanskrit face real danger from these persons who impose their arbitrary views on them without a thorough and unbiased study of the entire Vedic literature. When some modern scholars fail to understand the meanings of Vedic words they suggest emendation in the Vedic text in disregard of the entire Vedic tradition. It is highly objectionable. Therefore, it has been aptly said in the *Mahābharata*: विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद् वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति।

I conclude this article with the Vedic prayer :

सरस्वती नः सुभगा मयस्करत्।

THE ṚGVEDIC RIVER RASĀ

O. P. Bharadwaj

Rasā is the most commonly mentioned river in the *Ṛgveda* after the Sarasvatī and the Sindhu. Like the former it has been invoked as the "Great Mother"[1]

It is generally cosidered a stream in the extreme north-west of the Ṛgvedic territory called the Sapta- Sindhus and often equated with the Avestan Raṅhā (Rangha), supposed to be identical with the Araxes or Jaxartes.[2] One scholar[3] associates the name with two rivers, one being the Tangir which joins the Indus from the north-west between the rivers Gilgit and Kabul and the other called Sahbi which runs in the Rewari-Rohtak region of Haryana. It has also been identified with rivers as far apart as Tigris[4] in Iraq and the Narmada[5] in Central India. It is, sometimes, supposed to represent a mythical stream and construed even as a generic term for river on the specious ground that the word 'Rasā' originally meant 'sap' or 'flavour of waters'.[6]

All these views have remained mere conjectures and the problem of Rasā's identification still awaits solution.

In our view the Ṛgvedic Rasā is represented by the river Rakshān of Balochistan which rises near Shirza, close to the eastern junction of the Central Makran and Siahan ranges, traverses Panjgur, turns northward to join the Mashkel river from Persia at Grawak, bursts through the Siahan range and runs along the western side of Khārān to the Hamun-i-Mashkel, covering a total length of 258 miles[7]. The Rakshān valley, through which the main road passes after leaving Panjgur, forms the northernmost part of Makran[8] .

As we shall see all available evidence points in this direction.

The key to the identification of the Rasā lies in the account of the final conflict between the Paṇis and the Aṅgirasas as given in the *RV*, the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*[10] and the *Bṛhaddevatā*[11]. Although the last two versions slightly differ from the first and from each other all the three agree that the battle took place on the Rasā .

To note briefly the events as described in the *RV*, the Paṇis, who dwelt across the Rasā , stole the cows of the Aṅgirasas and hid them in a cave in the river. Saramā, the bitch, as messenger of

Indra, followed their trail all the way to the ends of heavens, crossing the Rasā which, first denying her a passage, soon became fordable. The Paṇis tried in vain to win her over with an offer of making her their sister and sharing the booty with her. Then they cautioned her saying that while their treasure-chamber was full of kine and horses and riches it was paved with a rock ; that they would not part with it without a fight and their weapons were sharp-pointed. Saramā, however, warned them of reprisal from the Aṅgirasas and Navagvas[12] led by Indra and Bṛhaspati and threatened them to go far away from that place. She returned and passed on the information to Indra leading to the defeat of the Paṇis and recovery of the cows.

To begin with, although the Rasā is undoubtedly a river of the west there is nothing to suggest that it could be a tributary of the Indus[13]. It is mentioned with known rivers of the west like the Krumu, Kubhā, Sindhu, Gomatī, Anitabhā, Sarayu, Triṣṭamā, Susartu, Śvetyā and Mehatnu[14]. First four of these are known to represent respectively the Kurram[15], Kabul[16], Indus[17] and Gomal[18] but the rest have not been identified beyond doubt. All that can be said is that some of them may be tributaries of the Indus.

Secondly the region of the Rasā was rocky and full of caves where the Paṇis were able to hide the stolen cows. The valley of Rakshān agrees with this situation.

Again the Rasā appears to be subject to sudden and short-lived floods[19] since Saramā had to wait for a short while till it became fordable. This is true of the Rakshān also. Although dry throughout the greater part of the year, like most hill torrents, it carries heavy floods and one of its features is the frequent pools from which water is drawn off for purposes of irrigation.[20]

Further, the country of the Rasā abounds in horses which constituted a good part of the wealth of the Paṇis[21]. Balochistan too, for long has been noted for its breed of horses. In the seventh century Rai Chach of Sind is said to have taken tribute in horses from Gandāva and in pre-British days the Haramzai Saiyids of Pishin and many of the Brahui tribesmen were in the habit of taking horses for sale so far afield as Mysore. Pedigree Baloch mares are still much prized. The animals were indeed considered so good that the Horse-breeding Commission in 1901 pronounced one of the classes of brood mares at the Sibi fare "as good as anything to be seen in England"[22]

The Rakshān and its valley thus satisfies all geographical aspects of the Ṛgvedic description of the Rasā and its surroundings.

The most important point however, relates to the location of the parties involved in the conflict and it demands a detailed examination.

In the scenario emerging from the brief facts of the great encounter the Paṇis and their group of tribes occupied the country on the west of the Rasā while the Aṅgirasas and their associates confronted them on the east of the river. As such some vestiges of the presence of these parties on the Rakshān and generally in Balochistan and its contiguous areas should be expected to exist ever after the lapse of several millennia.

Some scholars[23] have doubted the historicity of the Panis and labelled the conflict narrated in the *RV* X. 108 and elsewhere as a myth. Facts clearly point to the contrary.

It appears that the Paṇis and their confederates like the Dāsas, Dasyus and Pārāvatas, at one time, occupied the region to the west of the Sarasvatī beyond Vinaśana[24] or Kalibangan, including areas of Rajasthan and Bahawalpur[25] from where they were routed and driven away. The Sarasvatī has been described as the "devourer of the Paṇi"[26] and "destroyer of the Pārāvata"[27]. Expulsion of the Dasyus[28] and the Dāsas[29] is also mentioned in the *RV*. From the vicinity of the Sarasvatī these tribes moved into Sind pursued by their enemies. This is confirmed by the presence in Sind of tribal names like the Parbatiya of the Paṇi group and the Rind, Agaria, Gadhai and Sarangi of the Aṅgirasa group[30]. From Sind too the Paṇis were forced out by the Aṅgirasas led by Bṛhaspati, the son of Aṅgirā, who is invoked in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*[31], as the lord of Sindhudeśa, to appear with Indra and Brahmā, circumambulating the Maru or desert. Chased relentlessly by the Aṅgirasas who strongly resented their cattle-raids and unethical and irreligious activities, the Paṇis moved westward[32], pushing deeper and deeper into Balochistan, where they still exist in large numbers as members of numerous septs and clans of various Pathan tribes.

The origin of the Pathans is lost in antiquity[33] and their own traditions are heavily mythologised and unreliable[34]. The true

Pathans are however, believed to be of Indian origin[35]. According to recent genealogies, based on beliefs barely four-five hundred years old, the Pathan Pani is descended from Abdul Rashid Kais through Ghurghusht and Damai[36]. These Panis include the Musa Khels of Zhob, Kakar Panis[37], Panis of Sibi, Musa Khel Isot, Zmarai, Dephal[38] and others. The Kakar Panis are said to have come over to Balochistan with the Uttamzai from across the Indus[39] while the Mihranis of Dera Ismail Khan and Muzzafargarh[40], as the name suggests, were originally associated with the valley of the Mihran which is the later name of the Vedic Sarasvati in Sind[41], also called Hakra and Wahinda in Rajasthan and Bahawalpur and Ghaggar in Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. As a matter of fact all sections of Pathans are interrelated and original location of their tribes is no more certain.[42]

The Baloch Pathans, with the Panis as one of their largest section, share with the Ṛgvedic Paṇis not only their name but also many distinct traits of character[43] peculiar enough to establish their common identity.

The Paṇis were foolish and faithless, having no belief in worship and sacrifice[44]. The Pathans, although, normally Musalmans, are said to be singularly ignorant of their religion and neglectful of its rites and observances[45]. They have been described as rude people, just emerging from barbarism.[46]

The Paṇis, hankering after worldly pleasures, carried the dubious adjective of "userers"[47]. The Paṇi-Vaṇika equation[48] suggests that they were traders. The Pathans, particularly Bitanni Sheikhs amongst them, are also energetic and desirous of making money[49]. They constituted an important commercial and money-lending class[50]. In prepartition India, the Pathans engaged in money-lending at a very high rate of interest, which was proverbially known as *Pathani sud* (interest)[50A].

The Paṇis possessed cows and horses[51] and were habitual cattle thieves. The adjectives "*stena*" (thief or robber) and "*aghaśaṃsa*" (wicked reviler) seem to refer to them[52] Balochistan was known for its breed of horses and the Pathans were expert riders[53]. They too have been called "inveterate thieves and abettors of thieves; thieves by descent and tradition"[54] as well as great raiders and cattle lifters[55]. According to an adage "God will not favour a Baloch who does not steal and rob"[56]. This was the position till the advent of the British in India. "Every now and then" says Holdich,[57] "there would be a descent of the Baloch clansmen into Sind, or the Pathans of the Sulaimani hills into the nearest plains, and a general lifting of cattle and goods ensued which called for reprisal and vengeance."

The Paṇis were lazy[58]. The Pathans are said to suffer from an aversion to industry and a morbid sense of pride which looks upon manual labour as degrading[59].

The Paṇis have been called "rudely speaking niggards" and "babblers of indistinct, incoherent speech"[60]. Likewise the Bitanni Pathans are described as rude barbarians subject to a curious trick of misplacing aspirants which the Pushto speakers are unable to pronounce although they are generally corectly sounded by their neighbours[61].

The *RV* refers to the typical cleverness of the Paṇi[62] and the Bitannis of Marwat are also known to be keen-witted[63]. The Paṇis are compared with a wolf[64] who is by nature malicious, repacious, greedy and known for pretending friendship. The Bitannis have been called the "jackal of Waziri"[65], sharing the same nature and providing again, a close resemblance.

The Paṇis were efficient watchmen and good protectors of their cows. They kept the stolen cows in caves covered with rocks[66]. So are the Pathans. Hilly areas of Balochistan abound in caves and the Pathans live in fortified villages having attached stone-towers with commanding position which serve as watch-towers and places of refuge[67].

In the *RV* the Paṇis are overly considerate to Sarama. They do not maltreat her but invite her to become their sister[68]. Their harsh words are directed to Indra[69]. A true Baloch Pathan, being a nomad in his habits, does not seclude his women but, he is extremely jealous of female honour[70].

The Paṇis are not afraid of Indra and refuse to part with the cows without a fight[71]. They remind Saramā that their war-like weapons are sharp pointed[72]. Similarly there is no lack of courage about the Pathan and his own right hand, usually equipped with a sword, knife and shield, is his defence[73].

This strikingly close resemblance in name and traits of character projects the Pathans as the descendants of the Ṛgvedic

Paṇis whom we first saw occupying the valley of the Sarasvati. This position is further strengthened by the fact that Pashto or Pakhto or Balochi, the principal indigenous language of the Pathans, belongs to the Indo-Aryan family[74] and has been described as a dialect of Sanskrit, both in its vocabulary and grammatical structure[75]. In spite of influence of Avesta, Arabic and Persian numerous Pashto forms can be easily traced to their originals in Sanskrit and Prakrits[76].

Furthermore Vala, Bṛsaya and Bṛbu are known to be representing the Paṇis[77]. Vala's conflict with Bṛhaspati and Indra is noted at many places in the *RV*. He is said to dwell afar on the banks of the Gomati[78] which is identified with the Gomal flowing on the northern boundary of Balochistan[79]. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*[80] he appears as a Paṇi or chief of Paṇis and conceals the cows in the Rasā[81]. His citadels of mountains are smashed by Indra and he is slaughtered at the instance of the Aṅgirasas[82]. In the Brāhmaṇas[83] he is represented as an Asura. Agni is called *Valabhid* or "breaker of Vala". Later in the *Mahābhārata*[84] Indra is named *Valahan*. Much later in the *Nitimanjari* of Dya Dviveda[85], a work posterior to Sāyaṇa[86]. Vala is called an *asura* and is said to have stolen the cows of gods and hidden them in a mountain cave from where they were freed by Indra and his army along with Bṛhaspati. Bṛbu is described here as a carpenter of the Paṇis, a *Caṇḍāla*. Ptolemy mentions Boledi as a race whose real name, according to Bellew, was Bola from the Assyrian Bael, Bel or Bal which they gave to Balochistan[87]. The Boledis-Buledhis retained, till the 18th century, an important position as the ruling race in Makran[88]. The Amirs of Sind who belonged to the Tālpur-Talbur tribe connected themselves with the Leghārī clan of Tālbur as well as to an eponymic Tālbur, grandson of Bulo[89]. The name occurs as Bāloksh in Avadānakalpalatā and Balokshi in Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata[99]. The connection of Boledi with Ṛgvedic Vala should not therefore, appear to be impossible.

Bṛsaya's people too, are said to have been washed away by the Sarasvati[91] and they shared the fate of the Paṇis, the Dāsas and the Pārāvatas, Hillebrandt[92] identifies all these names in the north-west; Paṇis with the Parnians of Strabo, Dāsas with the Dahae, Pāravatas with the Paroyatai of Ptolemy and the Bṛsayas with the people of Barsaentes, the Satrap of Arachosia; and places them along with Divodāsa in Arachosia on the Haraxvaiti which he considers the original Sarasvatī. His view is not shared by Keith nd Macdonell[93] and his identification of the Sarasvatī with the Haraxvaiti is certainly untenable[94] but there is enough evidence to support the movement of these tribes from Balochistan to north-west after the Paṇis were expelled from the valley of the Rasā-Rakshān[95]. It may be noted that the Panis of the Sangam valley were celebrated freelances in Babar's time[96] and Daud Khan Pani, most famous of the Pani Afghan clan, was killed in battle on 6th September 1715[97]. Even in the late period of the Timui the Panis are said to have refused to provide troops to the Imperial army and, after looting Mirza Pir Muhammad, younger brother of Mohammad Khan who succeeded to the chiefdom of Peshawar in 1829, retreated into their mountains behind the Helmand[98].

The vestiges of the Ṛgvedic Paṇis and the other tribes of their group are thus found all over Balochistan and Afghanistan and even beyond. Bellew[99] has rightly observed that the Indian element in the population of ancient Ariana is well represented in modern Afghanistan by the survival of the same tribal names with little or no orthographic change. This is true in the case of the Aṅgirasas and their allies too since they pursued the Paṇis till the end and must have intermingled with them during their long co-existence in these areas.

Rind is one of the three great branches of the whole Baloch tribe and according to Bellew[100] they originally came from India. The Rinds of Kachhi have a clan named Indra[101] that reminds us of the Vedic Indra, the leader of the Aṅgirasas, twice called 'Aṅgirastama' in the *RV*[102]. It is interesting to note that the Ṛgvedic Indra has been considered "originally a historical hero from among the Vedic Aryans, who was in course of time, transformed by the Vedic poets first into an institutionalised national hero and then into the natioal war-god of the Vedic Indians.... (and) who came to be finally regarded as the supreme god of the Vedic pantheon[103]. If this view is accepted the existence of the tribal name Rind and the clan-name Indra becomes easily understandable. Indeed Rind itself may be a corrupt form of Indra through the process of metathesis. According to Pathan genealogies Rind is the name of the eldest son of Mir Jalal Khan supposed to be the progenitor of the Balochs[104].

One of the tribes in the large province of Las in Balochistan is 'Angariah' which Mason[105], following Tacitus, wrongly takes for

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the name of a German tribe. One of the sections of the Lumris or Numris of Las Bela[106] is also named 'Angarya' whom Bellew[107] considers a celebrated tribe of pirates along the shores of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea, conceding at the same time the possibility of their being Angirā Brahmans or Aggar mercantile Rajputs. A Mohammedan tribe called Agorīyā, supposed to be converts from Rathod Rajputs is found in Kachh, where the greater portion of inhabitants came from Sind[108], which as already seen, was once the kingdom of Bṛhaspati, son of Aṅgirā. There is therefore, no scope for doubting that 'Angariah', 'Angarya' and 'Agarīyā' are all corrupt forms of Aṅgirasa and they originally belonged to India.

Bharadvāja, the most inspired seer among the Aṅgirasas, is the son of Bṛhaspati and grandson of Aṅgirā[109]. The Bhāradvājas were connected with the Paṇis as their foes or friends; more as foes than friends. In early Vedic times a continuous conflict raged between the two[110]. Bellew[111] mentions Bardeja as a section of the Jokya sub-division of Numris whom he traces to Bareja, mercantile Rajputs. However, Bardeja is easily recognised as a corrupt form of Bhāradvāja which, as a surname, has infiltrated into many castes in course of time.

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Bashkali figures as one of the descendants of Rind through Sahak in one of the Baloch genealogical tables given by Dames[112]. Bellew[113] notes Bashgali of Kafiristan as a section of a clan of the Brahwis who were scattered in Kalat and the mountainous areas extending southwards. The Bashgalis are equated with Pagh, Pazh and Phog of Baloch tribes and the Pash and Bash of the Kafir, who occur in the list of Numri and Jokya sections which also include Angarya and Bardeja as well as Pande, the last named also being considered Pande Brahmans by Bellew. In this context it would be more appropriate to identify this Bashkali with Bāṣkali Bhāradvāja, one of the three disciples of Satyaśrī, known to be five generations posterior to Bāṣkala, a junior contemporary of Paila. Bāṣkali Bhāradvāja is supposed to have lived about 2950 B.C. and founded three *śākhās* of the *RV*[114].

Dames[115] notes Wāsuvāni as a clan and sept of the Kasrani tribe and Wāsūwāni as a sept of the Lāshārī clan of the Maghassi tribe. Apparently it is one and the same sept name spelt slighly differently. The suffix *ānī* in the name is the genitive plural termination used to form patronymics[116]. Wasu, the progenitor of the Wāsuvānis, would then be identical with Vasu Bhāradvāja, seer of three hymns of the *RV* and one hymn of the *Sāmaveda*[117].

The Maghassi tribe has a clan named Gādhī which is probably connected with the Gadai clan of the Rind tribe[118]. A section of the Lund tribe is also called Gādī whom Bellew[119] considers both, a Khatri tribe and an Indian herdsman tribe. In view of what has been said above we are inclined to trace the clan-name Gadhī to the *gotra* Gādhī belonging to the Garga sub-clan (*Upagaṇa*) of the Bhāradvājas[120].

An important Baloch tribe is named Sanjarānī. It occurs in various forms as Sanjāni, a sept of the Hotwānī clan of the Gurchāni tribe, Sārangāni, a sept of the Lohārānī clan of the Marrī tribe, Sanjarāni, a sept of the Masīdānī clan of the Syah-laf Mazāris, and Sarājānī, a sept of the Mugheri clan of the Maghassi tribe[121]. They may also be identical with Pliny's Sarangai from Seistan who are called Drangae and Zarangae too[122]. Brunhofer associates them with the country called Drangiana, old Persian Zaranka, whose inhabitants were known to the Greeks as Zaraggai, to Herodotus as Saraggai and Saraggees and to Strabo and Arrian as Daraggai[123]. All these names are evidently the corrupt forms of the Ṛgvedic tribal name Sṛñjaya. The Sṛñjayas again, are closely related to the Bhāradvājas. Divodāsa, the vanquisher of the Paṇis[124] was the most famous patron of the Bhāradvājas. As a matter of fact he happens to be a remote descendant of Vidathin Bhāradvāja said to have been adopted by Bharata Dauṣyanti[125]. In a *dānastuti* in the *RV* Divodāsa is lauded along with Prastoka Sārñjaya who was a patron of the Bhāradvājas[126]. Their close relationship is thus quite clear.

In the *RV* the Aṅgirasas appear as the great seers of ancient times[127]. The *Atharvaveda* raises the Aṅgirasas to the status of gods and along with the Ādityas, they are offered honey mixed with ghee. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also places them at par with gods[128]. The Paṇis on the other hand are called demons[129]. The description of the Rasā as the river that separates the world of gods and men from the world of demons[130] is therefore, fully justified in case of the Rakshān. As it forms the limit of the world of the Aṅgirasas it can be said to flow around the world[131]. And in crossing the Rasā-Rakshān Saramā can be rightly said to be flying to the ends of heavens[132].

The Vendīdād[133] states that the 16th of the good lands and countries, created by Ahur Mazda, was the land by the floods of the Ranghā, where people lived without a head. Obviously the expression "people without a head" has been used here figuratively and refers to "people who do not hold the chief for chief" and are, in other words, rebels against the law[134]. If the Avestan Ranghā stands for the Ṛgvedic Rasā, and therefore the Rakshan, its description as the "river of floods", and of the people of its land as "headless" is most befitting. We have already seen that the Rakshān carries heavy floods and the Pathans of the region have no common chief and no respect for law and order and even for religious practices.

Even archaeology makes very positive contribution in what we have been trying to establish. The Aṅgirasas have a special relationship with Agni. Etymologically the name Aṅgirasa is derived from Aṅgāra[135]. Agni is often called Aṅgirasa because after being generated it was named after its generator[136]. The Aṅgirasas are said to have discovered Agni concealed in the trees of the forest and to have churned him out[137]. Hence fire is called Aṅgirasa[138]. The Aṅgirasas kindled the fire with their own hands and dropped it in the abode of the Paṇis[139]. They are said to have first offered oblations to Indra and then with their fires blazing forth, through their good deeds and sacrifices, secured all wealth of the Paṇis[140]. Bṛhaspati also destroys his enemy with fire[141]. At one place Agni and Soma are said to have recovered the cows from the Paṇis and destroyed the brood of B ṛsaya[142]. Elsewhere Agni is said to have chased the foolish, faithless, rudely speaking niggards without belief or sacrifice or worship, Dasyu Paṇis, far-far away-westward from the east[143]. It should not be wrong to infer from all these statements that the Aṅgirasas resorted to the use of fire in their battle with the Paṇis and burnt down their fortifications and habitations.

This is confirmed by the testimony of archaeological excavations in the region. G.F. Dales' study of fortified Harappan settlements in Makran, in 1960, has shown the unique military character of Suktagan Dor and Sokta Koh, surrounded by heavy stone works, each placed some twenty to thirty miles inland, cutting highly strategical communication lines between inland oases and sea-shores. These settlements are believed to be suggestive of a critical state of confrontation[144]. In north Balochistan Piggot has drawn attention to thick layers of burning which indicate violent destruction by fire, of whole settlements about the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. at sites like Rana Ghundai and Dabarkot[145]. These discoveries support not only the fiery ending of the final Aṅgirasa-Paṇi conflict but also its occurrence on the Rakshān and therefore the validity of the Rasā-Rakshān equation as well.

It may be added that the linguistic change involved in the transition from Rasā to Rakshān does not pose any problem. Change of Sanskrit *ṣa* to old Persian *ksha* can be noticed in instances like *ṣaṣṭi-kshasti, ṣaṭ-khshvas, and ṣaṣṭhas-khstvo*[146]. And the addition of the termination *ān* can be illustrated with examples like Paktha-Pakthān[147],Dvyakṣa-Badakshān[148] and Valgu-Baghlān[149]. Pakthas[150] are the well-known Ṛgvedic people, Badakshan the name of a province and river of Afghanistan and Baghlan a river-name.

The process of linguistic change is not governed by any hard and fast rules but only by tendencies. A place name like Kāroti[151] may suffer no change over a long span of more than four thousand years, another like Āsandīvat[152] may drop only the suffix *vatup* to become Asandh while a third one like Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa[153] may change so drastically as to become unrecognisable in Lavāsā-Pachhāḍ although all the three belong almost to the same period of time, viz. the later Vedic age. The change of Rasā to Rakshān is less drastic than that in the last example.

We may now conclude that the Rakshān answers accurately to each aspect of the description of the Rasā and even Ranghā and the vestiges of all important tribal and personal names of the Paṇis and their group of the Dāsas, Pārāvatas and Bṛsayas on one side and the Aṅgirasas and their associates including the Bhāradvājas, the Bāṣkalis, the Vasus, the Gādhis and the Sṛñjayas etc. on the other, still exist in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the adjoining areas. The use of fire in the final conflict stands supported by archaeological evidence and the linguistic soundness of the Rasā-Rakshān equation is demonstrated by similar instances.

The indentification of the Rasā with Rakshān should therefore provide a satisfactory answer to an age-old problem of Ṛgvedic geography.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

Bellew	H.W. Bellew, *An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan*, Reprint, Karachi, 1977.
Buller	R. Hughs Buller, *A Gazetteer of Baluchistan*, Reprint, Gurgaon, 1989.
Caroe	Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C. A.D. 1957*, London, 1958.
Dames	Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race*, London, 1904.
Glossary	Denzil lbbetson, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, Vol. III, L-Z, Reprint, Patiala, 1970.
Hillebrandt	Alferd Hillebrandt, *Vedic Mythology*, Two vols, English ed., Delhi, 1980.
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908.
Mason	Charles Mason, *Narrative of a Journey to Kalat*, London, 1843.
Oliver	Edward E. Oliver, *Across the Border OR Pathan and Biloch*, London, 1890.
Punjab Castes	*Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes*, Reprint, Patiala, 1970.
RV	*Ṛgveda Saṁhitā (with the commentary of Sāyaṇa)*, Five volumes, Vedic Sanshodhan Mandal, Poona
Sarmah	Thaneswar Sarmah, *The Bhāradvājas in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1991.
Seers	V. G. Rahurkar, *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, Poona, 1964.
V.I.	A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, Two vols., Reprint, Delhi, 1967.

1 *RV,* 5.41,15.

2 *V.I.*, vol. ii, p. 209

3 M. L. Bhargava, *The Geography of Ṛgvedic India, Lucknow*, 1964, pp. 44 & 47.

4 Narendranath Ghose, *The Aryan Trail in Iran and India*, Calcutta, 1937, p. 194. Identifies Rangha with Tigris.

5 David Frawley, *Gods, Sages and Kings*, Delhi, 1993, p. 857.

6 *V.I.*, vol. ii, p. 209

7 Buller, p. 99.

8 Sir Aurel Stein, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 43, Calcutta, 1931, p. 19.

9 10.108; Also mentioned in 1.62, 3; 2.24, 6, etc.

10 ii, 440-442; For English translation see Wendy Doniger o'Flaharty, *Tales of Sex and Violence*, Delhi.

1987, pp. 97-99.

11 Ed. A.A., Macdonell, Two parts with English translation and notes, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1965, viii. 24-36.

12 A section of the Aṅgirasas. See Seers, p. 236.

13 Seers, p. 273, n. 159.

14 *RV,* 5.53, 9 and 10.75, 6.

15 *V.I.*, vol. i, p. 199.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

17 *V.I.*, vol. ii. p. 450

18 *V.I.*, vol. i, p. 238.

19 *Cf. RV,* 1.112, 12(a).

20 *IGI*, vol. xvii, p. 45.

21 *RV*, 10.108, 7.

22 Buller, p. 39; and *IGI*, vol. vi, p. 298

23 *Cf.* Abel Bergaign, vol. ii, p. 239 cited by Hillebrandt, vol. i, p. 233; Jan Gonda, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. i, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 97; and Doris Srinivasan, *The Myth of the Paṇis in the Ṛigveda*, in *JAOS*, vol. 93, No. 1, Jan-Mar 1973, pp. 44-58.

24 For identification of Vinaśana, See O. P. Bharadwaj, *Studies in the Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 20-43.

25 The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Gita Press ed. v. 9, 13-20 & v. 10) relates the story of Bharata son of a prominent Aṅgirasa brāhmaṇa being caught by the Paṇis, on the Ikṣumatī-Sarasvatī near Sindhu-Sauvīra, for sacrifice to goddess Bhadrakālī for male issue to their chief Vṛṣalapati. Here Paṇis are called Vṛṣalas or Śūdras. Again King Rāhugaṇa of Sindhu-Sauvīra meets him while on his way to meet sage Kapila. The scene was, on both the occasions, somewhere in Rajasthan-Bahawalpur on the Sarasvatī. King Rāhugaṇa too was an Aṅgirasa. See F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Reprint, Delhi, 1962, p. 224.

26 *RV,* 6.61,1.

27 *Ibid.*, 6.61,2.

28 *Ibid.*, 7.6,3.

29 *Khila*, 3.16,5. *Parān kṛṇuṣva dāsān.*

30 For details see infra.

31 ii, 5. Quoted by J. R. Joshi, *Minor Vedic Deities*, Poona, 1978, p. 40. *Meru* appears to be scribal error for *Maru*; Also *Jaiminīya Gṛhya Sūtra*, ii, 9.

32 *RV,* 7.6,3 (d). Some scholars identify the Paṇis with the Indus Valley people; e.g. P. L. Bhargava, Rajasthan, The Cradle of Indo-Aryan Civilisation, in *Cultural Contours of India, Dr. Satya Prakash Fel. Vol.*, Ed. Dr. M. L. Sharma et. al., New Delhi, 1980, p. 40; S. Prakash, *Ṛgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization,* Hoshiarpur, 1966, p. 92. According to Rafique Mughal, "the maximum expansion

of Harappan civilisation outside the primary Indus River Valley occurred in mature times (mid and late 3rd millennium B.C.). After reaching a fully urbanised stage at its core which may have been the central part of the Indus Valley, it spread towards the Baluch hills and along the Arabian Sea coast. This corresponds in time to intense Harappan long disance sea trade or exchange". *See Recent Archaeological Research in the Cholistan Desert,* App. I in *An Archaeological Tour Along the Ghaggar-Hakra river*, Marc Aurel Stein, Meerut, 1989. pp. 107-124; for date p.108.

33 Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich, *India*, Reprint, New Delhi, 1975, p.54.

34 Caroe, p.25: They are little more than *fairy*-tales.

35 *Punjab Castes*, p.62; Bellew considers the tribes of Sulaiman Range to be aboriginal Indians ; See S.S. Misra, *A Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite,* Calcutta, 1968, p.217.

36 *Glossary*, pp. 222-23.

37 *IGI*, vol. vi, p.289; *Punjab Castes*, p.92.

38 *Glossary*, Genealogical tables, p.223.

39 *Punjab Castes*, p.92; Bellew (p.122) connects them with Parmar Rajputs.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 57

41 *See* H.G. Raverty, The Mihran of Sind and its tributaries, *JASOB*, Vol. LXI, Pt.I, Extra No. 1892, pp. 471-73 and 475f.; Mirza Kalichbeg fredunbeg spells the name as Mehran and identifies it with the Indus in the *Chachnamah*, Eng. Tr., Reprint Delhi 1979, p.11 n.

42 *Ibid.* p.56; Even Ibbetson confesses his ignorance on this point.

43 On this point, apart from the works cited below also see H.W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta, 1880, pp.24,26,82, etc. & passim.

44 *RV*, 7.6, 3.

45 *Punjab Castes*, p.43

46 *Ibid.*, p.78.

47 *RV*, 8.66,10.The word is *Bekanaṭa*. Explained by Sayaṇa as: *Anena kusidino vṛddhijīvino vārdhuṣika ucyante\katham tad vyutpattiḥ\ Be iti apabhraṃśo dviśabdārthe\ Ekam kārṣāpaṇam ṛṇikāya prayacchan dvau mahyam dātavyau ityanena darśayanti\ Tato dvi śabdenaikaśabdenaca nāṭayanti iti bekanāṭaḥ*

48 *Nirukta*,11,17. *Paṇirvaṇig bhavati*; and Sayaṇa on *RV*, 1.180, 7: *Paṇirvaṇig lubdhako ayaṣṭā*

49 *Gazetteer of Bannu District*, Calcutta 1883-84, p. 70.

50 Oliver, p.24; Also *IGI Provincial Series, North-West Frontier Province*, p. 199.

50A Cf. Jamer W. Spain *The Way Of The Pathans*, London 1962, p. 23.

51 *RV*,10. 108, 7.

52 *RV*, 6.28, 7; Seers, p.105, n.113.

53 *IGI*, vol. vi, p.298; and *Punjab Castes*, p.42.

54 *Punjab Castes*, pp.42 & 78.

55 *Bannu Gazetteer*, p. 70.

56 *IGI, PS, NWFP*, p.42.

57 *India*, Reprint, New Delhi ,1975, p.33.

58 *RV*, 7.6,3; Sayaṇa : *vṛthā kalasya netāraḥ*.

59 *Punjab Castes* , p.42.

60 *RV*, 7.6,3 : *mṛdhravācaḥ*.

61 *Glossary*, vol. iii, p. 205; and *IGI, PS, NWFP*, p.256.

62 3.58,2: *Paṇermaniṣā*.

63 *Punjab Castes*, p.78; *Bannu Gazetteer*, p.70.

64 *RV*, 6.51,14 (d) .

65 *Punjab Castes*, p.78; Bellew, p.177.

66 *RV*, 10.108,7.

67 *Punjab Castes*, p.59.

68 10.108,9.

69 10.108,3.

70 *Punjab Castes*, p.42.

71 *RV*, 10.108,5.

72 *Ibid.*

73 Holdich, *op. cit.*, p.52; *Punjab Castes,* p.42.

74 Buller, p.27; *IGI,* vol. vi, p.288.

75 A.D. Pusalkar in S.K. Chaaterji et. al. ed., *The Cultural Heritage of India,* vol. I, Reprint, Calcutta, 1970, p.147.

76 *Glossary*, p.205; also gives views of Trumpp and Geiger; Also Edward Balfour, *Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, 1962 ed., vol. xviii, p.783.

77 Sarmah, p.204.

78 *RV*, 8.24,30.

79 *V.I.,* vol .I, p.238.

80 19.7,1.

81 *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, ii ,440.

82 *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, iv. 12,5,125.

83 *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, 19.7,1.

84 G.K. Bhat, *Vedic Themes*, Delhi, 1979, p.65.

85 Ed. Sita Ram Jayaram Joshi, Banaras, 1933.

86 See F. Kielhorn, The *Nitimañjarī* of Dyā Dviveda, *Indian Antiquary (I.A.)*, April 1876, pp. 116-119.

87 Holdich, *op.cit.*, p.52.

88 Dames, p.51.

89 *Ibid.*, p.60.

90 Nado Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 3rd ed., New Delhi, 1971, p. 20.

91 *RV*,6.61,3.

92 p. 339 ff.; According to Bellew (pp.36 & 44) some tribes of the Dahai or Dahi are named Aparnoi or Parnoi.

93 *V.I.*, vol. i, pp.471-73.

94 For identification of the Vedic Sarasvati see O.P. Bharadwaj, *Ancient Kurukṣetra*, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 22-44.

95 In *RV*, 10.108,10-11 Saramā threatens the Paṇis to move far away from the Rasā; Also *Vajasaneyi Saṁhita*, xxxv.1.

96 Oliver, p.59.

97 G.P. Tate, *The Kingdom of Afghanistan - A Historical Sketch*, Reprint, Delhi, 1973, p.30.

98 Hillebrandt, vol. i, p. 472n.20, quoting Darmesteter, *Chants Populaires des Afghans*, p.clxxi.

99 p. 188.

100 p. 180. Bellew believes that the Rinds are originally from "the Rin or the Ran of Kachh, the great salt- marsh formed by river Loni (salt) river of Rajwara, a name according to Tod (*Annals of Rajasthan*,vol.ii, p.295) derived from the Sanskrit *araṇya* and preserved by the Greek writers in the form of Erinos." Actually the word is *iriṇa* meaning 'salt soil, barren soil, or desert'. *Iriṇya* will mean belonging to desert etc. of which Rin may be a corrupt form.

101 Dames, p.72.

102 1.100,4; and 1.130, 3.

103 R.N. Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological tracts*, Delhi, 1979, pp.141-198, particularly p. 186.

104 Dames, p. 76, genealogical table I.

105 p. 298.

106 The lumris or Numris and other Lassi tribes trace their origin to one Samar (wrongly) supposed to be the founder of Samarkand. They believe he had four sons named Narpat, Bhopat, Aspat and Gajpat from whom sprang repectively the Lumris of Las and Jokias, Numris of Sind, Bhattis of Jaisalmer and Chughtais. The Lumris speak a dialect scarcely varying from that current in Sind; (Mason, p.298). It is noteworthy that the four names are the corrupt forms of Narapati, Bhūpati, Aśvapati and Gajapati, all Sanskrit names suggesting Indian origin of the Lassi tribes.

107 p. 180 f.

108 *Dalpat Rām Prāṇjīvan Khakhar*, Castes and Tribes in Kachh, *IA*, June 1876, pp. 167-174; It would be wrong to associate the Agarīas with Agra solely on the basis of similarity of name. The antiquity of Agra does not go back beyond the 15th century when it was founded by Buhlol Lodi, See Nando Lal Dey, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

109 Sarmah, p. 51; Shende, infra n. 120.

110 *Sarmah*, p. 204; also Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

111 p. 182.

112 pp. 77-78, tables ii & iii.

113 pp. 180-82.

114 Sarmah, pp. 306-11 & n. 10.

115 pp. 67 & 74-75.

116 Bellew, p. 183; & Dames, p. 18.

117 Sarmah, p. 141; *Atharvaveda* 2. 12, 4, refers to the Vasus, apparently descendants of Vasu, alongwith the Adityas and the Aṅgirasas as protecting a person against his enemies.

118 Dames, pp. 72 & 74.

119 p. 165.

120 Sarmah, pp. 326-28.

121 Dames, pp. 52, 65, 70-71 & 75: The Sanjarani are also called Toki which connects their origin with Punjab known as Ṭakkadeśa or Vahika (Vahikasṭakkanamano...... Hemacandra) *cf.* Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S. N. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1924, p. 171.

122 W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Reprint, Cambridge, 1966, p. 285.

123 Hillebrandt, vol. i, p. 346-47.

124 The Paravatas and the Bṛsayas were also his enemies, See *ibid.*, p. 341.

125 Sarmah, p. 137.

126 *V.I.*, vol. ii, p. 469.

127 Seers., p. 235.

128 N.J. Shande, Aṅgirasas in the Vedic Literature, *ABORI*, XXXI, pp. 108-131.

129 *Atharvaveda*, 4.23,5; *Jaiminiya Brahmaṇa*, ii, 440; and Bṛhaddevata, viii, 26.

130 Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, *The Rigveda û An Anthology*, Penguin, 1981, p. 156.

131 *RV*, 9.41,6.

132 *RV*, 10. 108,5

133 James Dermesteter, *The Zend Avesta*, Pt. i, The Vendidad, *SBE*, iv, p. 9; Fergard, I, 21 (76)

134 *Punjab Castes*, p. 78; Bellew, p. 82; Oliver, pp. 28-29 and Caroe, Intro., p. XV.

135 *Aitareya Brahmaṇa*, iii, 34; Seers, p. 235 n. 197.

136 Seers, p. 235.

137 *Ibid.*

138 *RV*, 5.11,6.

139 *RV*, 2.24, 7.

140 *RV*, 1.83,4.

141 *RV*, 6.73,3(d) *Bṛhaspatirhantyamitramarkaiḥ.*

142 *RV*, 1.93,4.

143 *RV*, 7.6,3.

144 Serge Cleuzion & Maurizio Tosi, The South-Eastern Frontier of the Near East, in Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, Occasional Papers 4, South Asian Archaeology, 1985, Copenhagen S 1989, p. 42.

145 Briget & Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*, New Delhi, 1983, p. 231.

146 J.Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii, Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 226, 235-36; Ṣa represents all the sibilants as is the case with the change of *Śat sa* and *sa* to *ha* in *śvāsa-sāh*, *daśa-dah* and Tauṣāyaṇa û Tohana.

147 *Punjab Castes*, p. 62.

148 Moti Chandra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata : Upāyana Parva*, Lucknow, 1945, p. 58.

149 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

150 P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow, 1956, p. 140, considers the Pakthas ancestors of the Pathans; Also Budhha Prakash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, Delhi, 1964, p. 44.

151 O.P. Bharadwaj, *Studies in the Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 116-120.

152 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

153 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-19.

SOME ASPECTS OF VEDIC STUDIES

G.U. Thite

A very important aspect of Indian thinkers is that they seek relevance of each and every historical personality or his works. One of the most facile ways of glorifying an ancient Indian thinker, a political leader or a book is to describe him or it as 'relevant even today'. On the birth or death anniversary of a great man it is invariably said that his thoughts are relevant even today. By saying this one feels complacent that one has adequately paid tribute to that great personality. The followers and devotees also feel that their leader is aptly praised thereby. Hardly does anyone think that it is highly impossible for all the thinkers to be relevant simultaneously.

In the history of vedic interpretation we notice two main currents. By and large they can be called fruit-oriented and root-oriented. The fruit-oriented interpretors try to interpret vedic texts in such a manner as would suit their purpose and try to find out thoughts in their mind from the vedic texts. The root-oriented interpretors on the other hand, try to find out the meaning intended, by the author of the text ; whether it can be useful or otherwise to them. Most of the Indian interpretors are fruit-oriented because they look at the Veda as a source of eternal inspiration. They claim that the Veda is useful and 'relevant even today'. This 'today' is also eternal. Thus for example the authors of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts try to give the vedic interpretation in such a manner as would suit to their purpose namely performance of sacrifice. Philosophers belonging to different schools of thought such as Dualism, monoism, etc. also try to show that the vedic texts support their views. Commentators like Sāyaṇa also interpret the vedic texts as if they were produced in their own times and find out all the ritual and philosophical thoughts prevalent in their own times in the vedic texts. In modern days the interpretors of the ninteenth century were interested in finding out the scientific progress in their times in the vedic texts ; the interpretors of the twentieth century try to update these interpretations by claiming that the progress of the twentieth century was also known in the vedic age. Thus to the scholars of the ninteenth century it was possible to discover railway in the veda and the scholars of the twentieth century could find aeroplanes in the vedic literature. The words like ecology, pollution, environmentology were not known before the seventies of this century but the vedic scholars of the last part of this century can easily find out the references to ecology and ways of removing pollution from the vedic literature. There is no wonder if someone will find out references to the diseases like AIDS and their treatment in the vedic literature even though the word AIDS was not known before 1980. So although veda is eternal and said to contain everything which is not yet known, it is necessary for these vedic interpretors to know these things first through the newspapers.

This uitlization outlook of many Indian thinkers leads them to relevance-mania. Thus they claim that in order to prove the importance of any work or leader its or his thoughts should be declared to be relevant 'even today'. Everything that is in the context is said to be relevant 'even today'. On the birthday or death anniversary of a great man his thoughts are said to be relevant 'even today'. While praising one great man in this manner, the relevance-maniacs forget that they have praised other great men also in the same manner previously. It is a very crude and primitive way of thinking which requires relevance today as a pre-condition for the greatness. To claim an ancient personality or a great work relevant even today is anachronistic. For how can the thoughts expressed in ancient times be useful in modern times. Moreover, if all such claims are accepted literally, the mutually contradictory thoughts of all these persons cannot be simultaneously relevant. If they were really relevant then there would be a lot of confusion and anarchy. But most of the Indian interpretors do not have a sense of history. Perhaps they are influenced by the Mīmāṁsā doctrine *"na kadācit anīdṛśaṁ jagat"* which does not make a difference between the past and the present. Moreover the arguments of many Indian vedic interpretors are based not on the original text by rather on the commentaries like that of Sāyaṇa or the translations, in English or some other language, which are based upon Sāyaṇa's commentary. Thus for example they do not understand that the translation of the *Ṛgveda* by Wilson or Chitrava is not the translation of the *Ṛgveda* but of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Ṛgveda*. It never occurs to the mind of the Indian vedic scholars that there is a basic difference between understanding *Raghuvaṁśa* with the help of Mallinātha's commentary and understanding the *Ṛgveda* with the help of Sāyaṇa's commentary. The language of the authors like Kālidāsa is Classical Sanskrit governed by the rules of Pāṇini and the words used by them are traditionally known. But this is not the case with the *Ṛgveda*, the grammar, the vocabulary and the *weltanschauung* of which is not easy to understand. Since it is very easy to understand Sayaṇa's commentary, the Indian scholars rush to study the veda where even the angles would fear to tread. Some Indian scholars try to study veda in order to justify their philosophical thoughts or try to interpret every detail either from the point of view of astrology, sexology or modern sciences like physics, chemistry, botany, etc. All these interpretations are fruit-oriented and made inorder to explain their pre-conceived notions. The basic starting point of these scholars is ofcourse the commentary or English translations by Wilson or Griffith. the translation by Renou and many other Western scholars are not within the reach of majority of Indian scholars.

A significant point in the history of vedic interpretation in India is that, upto the ninteenth century the vedic interpretation was not a part of the syllabus of Sanskrit studies. Prior to the introduction of the British system in India, students would study the Sanskrit *Śāstras* like Grammar, *Nyaya*, *Mimaṁsa*, Poetics, etc. in Sanskrit *Pāṭhaśālas*. Whatever Vedic study was done was limited to the learning of the Veda by heart only. Most of the Vedic students used to learn a few important parts of the *Saṁhita*-texts useful for household priestly rituals only. A few intelligent and hardworking students used to learn by heart one *Saṁhita*-text along with the Brāhmaṇa and Vedaṅga texts as well as the *Vikṛti*-recitations, but no one was interested even in reading the commentaries of Sayaṇa etc. Even in the field of *Śrauta* ritual which was comparatively a rare phenomenon and limited to some isolated places in South India there was no systematic provision of studying it. It used to be studied in apprenticeship-method under the supervision of the senior priests. The priests too never bothered to know the meaning of the formulae they uttered or the significance of the action they did. In *Nirukta* the view of Kautsa who claimed that the Veda has no meaning is refuted, but the history of vedic studies in fact has supported the view of Kautsa only ; for the students of Veda recited the Vedic texts without understanding the meaning thereof. Even the discussion part of the Nirukta on the meaning of the Veda used to be recited verbatim. Thus for all practical purposes Veda was only to be recited and never understood. But after the new system of education was introduced by the British, the Vedic scholars started interpreting the Veda in accordance with the needs of their time

This interpretation was ofcourse anachronistically fruit-oriented.

A typical example of anachronistic and fruit-oriented Vedic interpretation is that of the word *raṣṭra*. In modern Indian languages like Hindi or Marathi, the word *raṣṭra* is a synonymn of the English word 'nation'. The concept of 'nation' itself is taken from Western politics. The word *rāṣṭra* in the Vedic as well as the later Sanskrit texts is simply used in the sense of state or country. The Western political science makes a clear distinction between state and nation. The concept of state depends on land, people, government and sovereignity. But the concept of nation depends upon the feeling of unity among the people. For the concept of nation in modern Indian languages the word *rāṣṭra* is used and in imitation of these languages this word is used in modern Sanskrit to mean 'nation'. For the last one hundred years we are so much acquainted with the word *raṣṭra* in the sense of nation, that it becomes almost impossible to most of us to accept the fact that in Vedic language, this word does not mean nation at all. Therefore when a prayer is made at the time of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice (e.g. *VS* XXII. 22) to get rain etc. in the *raṣṭra* there the word *raṣṭra* which is used, is to be understood in the sense of country and not as a nation. In *AV* XII. 1 which is called *Bhumisukta*, a description of the earth in general is made. The earth is also deified there. Some of the anachronistic interpretors consider this hymn to be useful for nationalistic interpretation. But because the description is very general here and nationalism requires a particular country, this hymn cannot fully serve their purpose. The description, viz. "The earth is a mother and I am a son of this mother." (*AV* XII.1.12) also cannot serve the purpose of a particular nation.

It should also be pointed out that in Sanskrit there is no word which means nature or ecology or environment. In modern Marathi or Hindi the words *nisarga* or prakṛti are used in the sense of the English word 'nature' which includes trees, rivers, animals, seasons, etc. Although Sanskrit authors were fond of descriptions of trees and other things they had never used any general word like 'nature' for all these things. The word *nisarga* in Sanskrit means "evacuation, voiding, excrement, giving away, bestowing a favour or grant, creation, natural state or condition, character" etc. (See *Monier Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary* under the word '*nisarga*'). It is the modern Western critics who appreciate the descriptions of natural beauty by Kālidāsa and in imitation of them we Indians also call Kālidāsa a *'nisargakavi'*. Even though the Sanskrit critics also highly praised Kalidāsa, they never praised him for this quality because the concept of 'nature' is itself Western and was unknown to India. Similarly the word *prakṛti* in Sanskrit means "the original form or condition, original substance, cause, source, constitution, character, temper, disposition, material world" etc. (See the same Dictionary) but never 'nature'. In Hindi and modern Sanskrit, the word *prakṛti* or *nisarga* is used in the sense of 'nature'. It is therefore completely anachronistic to seek ecological awareness in Sanskrit or Vedic literature merely on the basis of some references to trees or animals.

The ancient Indian people were animists and as such they used to think that life pervades everywhere. The so-called inanimate objects were also treated by them to be like animate or even as deities. As a part of animism they considered trees also as sentient beings. Animism is a part of primitive way of thinking. For primitive men, trees are not a biological phenomenon but rather a magico-religous phenomenon. Therefore treatment of trees as animate beings is not a scientific proposal but rather a magico-religous one. Otherwise trees were considered by Indians to be inanimate things only. Thus in Kādambarī, while describing the hermitage of Jābāli it is said that even the inanimate trees were observing vows there ; then what to speak about the sentient animals ? *(niścetanastaravo'pi saniyama iva lakṣyante kiṁ punaḥ sacetanāḥ praṇinaḥ)*. Here the trees are in an unequvocal manner described to be inanimate ; but the anachronistic relevancialist interpretors try to understand the ancient literature in the context of modern ideology. Therefore most of the Vedic interpretors of this type can be called fruit-oriented.

The Western scholars on the other hand have always been root-oriented. They treat Vedic as well as later Sanskrit texts to be simply historical documents. They considered them to be important not because of their relevance but because of their antiquity. They try to find out the 'original' meaning of the Vedic words as possibly understood by the ancient *ṛṣis*. Not that the Western scholars are successful in every attmept in this direction. But their effort is always directed to the root or the origin. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the concept of 'originality' itself is Western. There is no word in Sanskrit language in the sense of 'origin' or 'originality'. No Sanskrit author ever claims to be 'original'. He always claims to be 'a faithful expounder of the thoughts of his teacher' or 'of some great ancient author'. Even there where he is really original he will say that he is giving the thoughts 'intended' even if not expressed by his predecessor. In Sanskrit there is no word for originality. Similarly there is no word for 'research' also in Sanskrit. In modern Marathi or Hindi the word *saṁśodhana* or *śodha* is used in the sense of research and in imitation of this these words are used in modern Sanskrit too. But in Classical Sanskrit these words simply mean, the act of cleansing or purifying only being derived from the root *śudh*, to purify.

The history of Vedic interpretation in the west also seems to have undergone three stages. In the first period which can be called the creative period, scholars like Roth, Grassman, Ludwig Bergaigne and Geldner flourished. This period came to an end with the activities of Oldenberg who was the greatest hero in this period.

The second period can be called the classical period. In this period scholars like Luders, Theime, Kuiper and Gonda flourished, but undoubtedly the greatest scholar was Louis Renou. In this period the over-enthusiastic extremist views of the scholars of the creative period were modified. While freshness and originality were the characteristics of the creative period, perfectction and discipline were the characteristics of the classical period. The post-Renou period however seems to be the decadent period characterised by exhibitionism, repetitions, verbosity, obscureness, hair-splitting and much ado about nothing.

To sum up we may draw the following conclusions :

i) Many Indian thinkers and Vedic interpretors are so fond of relevance ideology that they become relevance-maniacs as it were.

ii) The relevancialism is a part of extreme utilitarianism and is based on a complete lack of the sense of history. In other words it is anachronistic.

iii) Due to the search for relevance the Vedic interpretations by many Indian scholars are 'fruit-oriented'. The Western interpretations are on the other hand 'root-oriented'.

TISYA IN THE *TAITTIRIYA BRAHMANA*

Bhagyashree Bhagwat

Vedic ritual is related to time in many ways. For each and every rite, specific time has to be followed.

1. While describing the rite of *Agnicayana*, the *Taittiriya Brahmaṇa*[1] *(TB)* refers to *Tiṣya*. A sacrificer arranges the bricks called *Nakṣatreṣṭaka* and in this connection the *TB* quotes "बृहस्पतेस्तिष्य:"। Here the word *Tiṣya* is a constellation. *Bṛhaspati* is the deity related to *Tiṣya*. Later on *Tiṣya* is identifed with Puṣya[2].

The *Taittiriya Saṃhita*[3] (TS) also refers to Tiṣya as "तिष्यो नक्षत्रं बृहस्पतिर्देवता"। *TS*[4] says "रुद्रो वै तिष्य:"।

In the Marathi translation it is translated as "पौषमास हा रुद्र आहे." (The month of पौष is रुद्र.)

Indian calendar is centered around either the Sun or the Moon. Relation of the Marathi month *Pauṣa* appears to be strange, but it is related to the *Barhaspatya Saṃvatsara*, one of the methods of Indian calendar, where we find the following explanation :

The movement of the Sun is faster than the planet Jupiter (Bṛhaspati), Guru.

So, when the Sun approaches near *Guru*, the planet disappears for 25-31 days till again it rises. This rise of the planet is related to some *Naksatra*, constellation. If it rises on the *Krttika* constellation, then the month is named as *Kartika*. If the rise takes place on *Puṣya* constellation, the name of the Month is *Pauṣa*. It is interesting to note that the month *Pauṣa* is also known as *Taiṣa* and *Sahasya*. *TB*[6] quotes "बृहस्पति: प्रथमं जायमान: तिष्यं नक्षत्रमभि सं बभूव।"

The constellation *Puṣya* is noticed before or after the Full-moon day of the month *Pauṣa*. Sayaṇacarya[7] in his commentary says — "योSयं तिष्यो नक्षत्रविशेष: सोSयं नोSस्मान् पुरस्तात् बाल्ये परिपातु। उतापि च मध्यतो यौवनेSपि पातु। अयं बृहस्पतिर्नोSस्मान् पश्चादन्ते वार्धके पातु। किं च तौ तिष्यबृहस्पती द्वेषो शत्रून् बाधेताम्। अस्माकमभयं कृणुताम्। तयो: प्रसादादयं सुवीर्यस्य शोभनसामर्थ्यस्य पतय: पालका: स्याम।"

Bhaṭṭabhaskara[8] says "रुद्रो वै तिष्यस्सोम:।"

2. *Tiṣya* as a star appearrs in the *Rgveda*[9] *(RV)* also. Sayaṇacarya takes it to mean the Sun. A story from the *Śatapath Brahmaṇa*[10] *(ŚBr)* appears to be relevant here.

In the beginning, different powers were known to be *Naksatras*. The Sun took over the power from *Nakṣatras*. The Sun should be understood as the constellation, a flawless constellation. Considering the Sun as a *Nakṣtra* from Sunrise to Sunset, the rituals should be performed for the fulfillment of the desires of the sacrificer.

Another reason can be inferred why Sāyaṇācarya has explained *Tiṣya* as the Sun. The ritual of *Cayana* is not included in the *Ṛgveda*. So, the reference to *Nakṣatreṣṭakā* is not noticed therein the *RV*.

3. *The text Bṛhatsaṁhitā[11] refers to Puṣya as Gurubha, a very auspicious one. The deity is Guru. Whatsoever is auspicious and producing prosperous results, is related to Puṣya. The same text further mentions[12] that this auspicious constellation is related to the rites such as Puṁsavana, Karṇavedha, Nāmakaraṇa and Yajñadikṣā. So, the referencs are noticed in the Gṛhyasūtras.[13]*

4. *Suryakant[14] says : Tiṣya occurs twice[15] in the RV—apparently as the name of a star though Sāyaṇa takes it to mean as the Sun. Doubtless that it is identical with the Avestan Tiṣtrya, celebrated in the Yâst 18. Here also it is a star and a deity, ruling over the cattle and human beings. Tiṣtrya removes the ill effects of other constellations. In a month, during first ten nights, he is depicted as a young male, the middle ten days, he is a bull and for the last ten days of the month, he is a constellation. Ahura Mazda has made him the king, supreme of the constellations. Tiṣtrya is referred to alongwith the Miθra, Māh and other celestical divinities.*

In the Pahlavi texts, he is referred to as the chieftain of the East. He cooperates Vohuman and is associated with prosperity and fertility.

[16]Scholars generally agree that *Tiṣtrya* represents *Sirius*, a Dogstar, the brightest star in the heavens. *Sirius*, was known to Egyptians as *Sothis*. The Indian equivalent of *Tiṣtrya* seems to be *Tiṣya*, a star or constellation, whose deity in the *TS* is *Bṛhaspati*.

Tiṣya is important in the Pali literature also. *Amarakoaśa*[17] mentions it as a synonym for *Puṣya*. *Tiṣya* is always associated with auspicious and prosperous events, even in the other mythologies.

Reference to *Tiṣya* is noticed only in the *TB*.

5. Thus, Tiṣya is important from the point of view of Astronomy, Astrology, Mythology and Culture.

Finally, one very important point deserves a mention here.

Wakernagel, relying on linguistic arguments, syntax, accentuation, vocabulary arrived at the conclusion that the *TB* is the proper oldest one. Reference to *Tiṣya* in the *RV*, in the *TB* and also in the *Avesta* may be considered as an addition to this point. But how *Tiṣya* was changed to *Puṣya* is yet unknown.

References :

1. *TB* 5.4.1.3.
2. *Amarakośa* 3.3.147 तिष्यः पुष्ये।
3. *TS* 4.4.10
4. *TS* 2.2.10.1
5. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* : Marāthi *Anuvāda*. Part I, p. 218, Tr. by V.V. Bhide.
6. *TB* 3.1.1.5
7. See *Sāyaṇabhāṣya* on *TB* 3.1.1.5
8. See *Bhaṭṭabhāskara* on 1.5.1.2.
9. *RV*...
10. ŚBr 2.1.2. 18-19
11. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 55.31
12. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 99.15-18
13. *Baudhāyana Gr. Sutra* 1.1.21. *Bharadwāja* 2.18 : 6

14. Macdonell and Keith: *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects:* Vol. I, P. 312

15. V. 54. 13; X. 64.8

16. Prof. Louis Gray; *Foundations of the Iranian Religion.* P. 117

THE PURAṆIC *VAṀŚANUCARITA* AND THE ANCIENT INDIAN CONCEPT OF *ITIHASA* : SOME REFLECTIONS

Ajay Mitra Shastri

VAṀŚANUCARITA

Preservation of genealogical tree (*vaṁśvṛkṣa*) was prevalent in ancient civilizations and India could just not be an exception. And its earliest traces are discernible in the world's oldest book, the *Rgveda*, which records incidentally some generations of the Bharatas and the Purus. These were genealogies of the ruling class. As against this, later Vedic texts like the *Śatapatha Brāhma ṇa* and the *Bṛhadaraṇyakopaniṣad* furnish the order of succession of *ṛṣis* or Vedic seers. Thus both kinds of genealogies, political and spiritual, appear to have claimed scholarly attention and been preserved carefully from the earliest times. On the occasion of the protracted observance of Vedic or Śrauta sacrifices the recitation of what are called *naraśaṁsi gathas* (human eulogistic stanzas) eulogising sacrificing kings and their past generations was laid down as a ritual *sine qua non*. Infact, such *gathās* find mention in the *Ṛgveda* itself.

Later when the *Puraṇas* were compiled, the genealogies came to be treated as one of their constituent characteristics, and we find genealogies of gods and *ṛṣis* (*vaṁśa*) and of the kings (*vaṁśanucarita*) as two of their five components (*pañca-lakṣaṇa*), the remaining three being creation (*sarga*), dissolution followed by recreation (*pratisarga*) and the phases of time (*manvantaras*).[1] The antiquity of the *Puraṇa* class of literature goes back at least to the later Vedic times as revealed by its explicit mention in the *Atharvaveda* and several other later Vedic texts. In fact, this class of literature had already attained such a great importance that it was considered essential for the proper understanding and appreciation of the true meaning of the Veda itself and it is averred that the Veda is afraid of one not well-versed in it as well as the *Itihāsa* as he would cause hurt to it.[2]

The antiquity of the *Puraṇa* goes back at least to the later Vedic times as revealed by its mention along with the *Itihasa* in the *Atharvaveda* and some other later Vedic works. It is uncertain and controversial, however, if there was a single original *Puraṇa* or more works of this class during the Vedic period. Whatever that be, that they had already attained great importance and sanctity is evident from their being accorded the status of the fifth Veda in the later Vedic age. And according to a popular stanza a person well-versed in the Vedas together with their limbs or accessory disciplines (*Vedāṅgas*) and *Upaniṣads* is not proficient unless he has a thorough knowledge of the *Purāṇa*.

The maintenance of the Purāṇic lore was entrusted to a class of people called *sūta* who were also expected to sing the glory of the members of the ruling class. It is important to note that the word also denotes a charioteer which shows how the two functions were combined. Later the responsibility of preserving and augmenting by insertion of fresh material necessitated by the passage of time fell on the learned *brāhmaṇas*.

The origin of the ancient ruling families is traced from the Sun and the Moon. Consequently these lines are known as Sūryavaṁśa and Candravaṁśa or by other allied names. And through these two luminaries the legendary extraction is traced from the creator himself. The solar line is said to have begun from Vaivasvata Manu's son Ikṣvāku and the lunar one from his daughter Ilā who was married to Budha (Mercury), son of the Moon.

Though theoretically one of the five traditional components of the *Purāṇa*, only thirteen of the *Mahāpurāṇas* contain the *vaṁśānucarita* section. And of them also, only five (viz. *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*) contain fuller genealogical accounts. And there have crept in several structural defects such as additions or omissions of material, several errors, sometimes of a highly serious nature like spellings of proper names and the latter's inclusion or omission, regnal periods and often non-specification of mutual relationship between two successive rulers due to very unsatisfactory and defective manuscript tradition. Not that all the ruling families get a place. Several dynasties have been left out as they are not connected, directly or otherwise with the imperial lines. And even as they are, they generally end abruptly about early fourth century AD. However, the tradition is carried up to about mid-fifth century in some of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which appear to know of even the Gupta emperor Skanda Gupta under the name Guha, viz. Skanda.[3] In some cases the Purāṇic writers described the life and achievements of a king under some allegoric name and it has been shown elsewhere that king Pramati whose deeds are elaborated in some of the *Purāṇas* is in fact none else than Samudra Gupta.[4]

The supposed divine origin (from Sun or Moon) of the ruling families served as a highly important tool of imparting a respectable socio-political status and legitimacy to rulers not all of whom sprang from the ancient respectable lineages and were political upstarts, often tribal potentates, by fabricating fictitious genealogies. There is, however, no doubt that it served the purpose of integrating foreigners as well as people of tribal stock with the mainstream of ancient socio-political structure. Attempts have recently been made to discern socio-economic significance in these genealogies.[5]

Attempts have been made to put together and collate the Purāṇic genealogies with the help of available manuscripts, and that of F.E. Pargiter[6] is the best and commonly referred to in standard historical writings though an updated edition in the light of the new manuscripts discovered and lying untapped in manuscript libraries and some private collections during nearly nine decades since its publication is a long-felt desideratum.[7]

However, some of the views of Pargiter are strange, unwarranted and therefore totally unacceptable. To mention just one, he is of the firm opinion that the dynastic text of the *Purāṇas* was originally composed in Prakrit very close to Sanskrit and was later Sanskritised but written in Kharoṣṭhī script which is responsible for the not infrequent violation of metre and other serious errors of spellings.[8] It is rather surprising that a scholar of the eminence of Pargiter should feel forced to account for the defects met with in the Purāṇic section in question on this flimsy ground. Without going into details we may just emphatically state that all these and other drawbacks are entirely due to the defective manuscript tradition prevailing at the time. The manuscripts were copied and recopied every now and then. Then, all the copyists were not learned scholars and a vast majority of them must have been just literate or even semi-literate and unable to understand nuances of language and metre. To add to it, the writing of one, either in a particular style or simply bad, must have not been legible to all and sundry. And finally, these copies and re-copies were again and again used for preparing fresh copies, and some of them must have been soiled in the process. Thus, all these defects can be easily explained away on the basis of inadequate manuscript tradition, there being no need for any unwarranted wild goose hunt for these.[9]

The Puraṇic genealogies relate to what was known as the Kali age of the four *yuga*-cycle. However, generally speaking those of the pre-Maurya period are not verifiable independently and archaeologically as no written and deciphered archaeological records of the period have as yet come to light. But that genealogies were by and large preserved carefully would follow from a statement of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of the Maurya emperor Candragupta, cited by Pliny the Elder. We are told that Heracles flourished 138 generations before Sandracottus (Candragupta Maurya) whereas according to the genealogical tables collated by Pargiter between Vaivasvata Manu and the end of the Nandas 135 generations had ruled over various parts of India. Thus, Candragupta who came to power after uprooting the last Nanda ruler represented 139th generation after Heracles according to Megasthenes and 136th generation after Manu Vaivasvata following the Purāṇic tradition. It has been suggested, plausibly it would seem, that Megasthenes has confused Heracles in this case with Manu. In that event the number of generations of kings in the Greek and Indian Puraṇic tradition is fairly close to one another. Again, the *Puraṇas* give the number of rulers of pre-Manu or pre-flood period from and including Pṛthu as eight while according to Megasthenes, again quoted by Pliny, fifteen generations prior to Heracles flourished Dionysus. It is likely that Pṛthu is a constituent of the personality of Dionysus. The difference between the number of generations in the classical tradition and the *Purāṇas* only shows that there is some nominal error somewhere. It would thus follow that at least some *Pụraṇa* texts must have existed during the time of Megasthenes.[10]

But the Purāṇic genealogies are just a string of names of rulers succeeding one after the other together with, generally speaking, their mutual relationship and the period of their reign, mostly only in completed years but sometimes in months as well. When one dynasty is replaced by another, the manner of replacement, commonly a political revolution by a senior officer or military commander, is also indicated.

Though it is rightly believed that the genealogical accounts of the *Puraṇas* were finalised about early fourth century AD, there are often indications in some of the manuscripts of the *Purāṇas* that some of the accounts date from a much earlier period and sometimes even the date of an account can be determined fairly accurately. Thus, some of the *Matsya* manuscripts show that the original account (or one of the accounts) of what the *Purāṇas* call the Andhra or Andhra-Jātīya dynasty was compiled during the ninth regnal year of Yajña Sātakarṇi. This variant reading runs as follows :

> *Nava varṣāṇi Yajñaśrīḥ kurute Sātakarṇikaḥ.*

That the account was actually composed or compiled during the ninth year of Yajña's reign would also follow from the employment of the present tense as otherwise the account is composed in a prophetic style ('would be').

We have shown in some of our writings that by and large the Purāṇic account of the Andhras or Andhra-jātīyas by which name the *Purāṇas* refer to the Sātavāhanas basing on their original cradle of political power tallies fairly well with what is known independently from acrhaeological sources.[12] The same is true of the early history of the Vākāṭakas whom the *Purāṇas* speak of as the Vindhyakas, again after their original home.[13] This is also true of the early history of the imperial Guptas at least the first four generations of whom were known to the compilers of a majority of the early *Purāṇas*.[14] In this case also they refer only to the original territory under the dyansty and not the kingdom as expanded by Samudra Gupta even though their authors were aware of him, at least his early years, as indicated by the employment of the plural number in the expression *Gupta-vaṁśajāḥ* ('descendants of Gupta'). These are only some of the examples and there are several such cases which need further investigation and not detain us any more here.

But as pointed out above, these are in most cases just catalogues of names together with some bare details. They give us only the order of succession and an idea of changes in the wielders of political authority. Thus this was merely in the nature of political chronicle in which the common people had no say and their lives, aspirations and activities were generally ignored. There was no account of the popular life here. This was actually the type of histories that were written in the West up to about the early years of the twentieth century and the same was the case with the western historians of India like Elphinston, Vincent Smith and others of their ilk and this model was also followed by their Indian followers. But it was just the account of the *vaṁśas* or dynasties (*vaṁśānucarita*) according to the *Purāṇas* and not *itihāsa* in its proper sense.

ITIHĀSA

Around the forties of the twentieth century there was a rebellion against this type of lopsided historical model which paid no attention to socio-economic history which concerns all the people irrespective of their socio-economic status and is actually more important. Disenchanted with the above model and evincing awareness of the expanding horizons of knowledge, historians have now evolved an integral and all-pervasive approach to historical reconstruction, and now anthropology, sociology, economics and natural sciences are being harnessed to the maximum extent to recreate a dependable picture of all the imaginable facets of man's life and activities in the past. This is termed 'new history' in the fashion of 'new archaeology' which also aims at providing an all-inclusive idea of man's material life in a given age and locate. This is opposed to and is a correct reaction again overemphasis on dynastic history which was fashionable earlier under western impact which laid excessive stress on kings' whims and idiosyncrasies ignoring altogether common man's life which was not supposed to be worthy enough of wasting ink, time and energy. But it is very close to the ancient Indian concept of history (*itihāsa*) which is defined in a stanza of the *Mahābhārata* as narration of past events in the form of stories aiming at imparting knowledge of one's duty, wealth, wordly pleasure and final emancipation :

Dharm-ārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇām upadeśa-samanvitam ।
Purāvṛttaṁ kathā-rūpam itihāsaṁ pracakṣate ॥

It is an all-inclusive picture of man with society, economy, religion and polity interacting with each other to give a coherent idea of historical events. Within this framework new thoughts and developments with changing ideas can be easily accommodated. The antiquity of *Itihāsa*, too, is as great as that of the *Purāṇa* as both figure together from later Vedic period.

Attempts are now being made to trace not just 'what' and 'when' which were the immediate concern of a historian till recently but also 'why' and 'how' of historical occurrences. In quite a few cases it is plausible as well helpful in getting important clues. But the theory of 'this happens under this circumstance' or cause-and-effect theory (*asmin sati idaṁ bhavati*) is often limited by human idiosyncrasies which are simply unpredictable but are more often than not instrumental in changing the course of history. It is not a science laboratory where mixing of hydrogen and oxygen in a fixed proportion would result only in creating water. In historical laboratory it may lead to something else as well. This is the reason why some of the predictions of Karl Marx based on this cause-and-effect theory of history went away. Thus history continues to be a part of humanities and is a social science at the same time like other disciplines coming within the purview of the latter where exact predictions are just impossible.

INTEGRAL HISTORY

While avoiding an undue or excessive emphasis on political or kingly history, the human role in shpaing history also deserves a clear recognition. It is undoubtedly true that man is influenced greatly by his own times and in a sense may be called the product of his surroundings. But it is true only of docile people without any initiative and intelligence. Though circumstances certainly play a vital role in shaping what one is, it cannot be gainsaid that he, especially if bright and gifted with intuition and urge, often contributes greatly to the shaping of times and circumstances by giving them a different tilt. It was this recognition of human role that accounts for the adage *rājā kālasya kāraṇam* ('king is the cause of times'). Thus, man's role in shaping history cannot be denied. To sum up, he is both a product and producer of time and conditions as were all great men including the Buddha, Swami Dayananda and Marx. It is for this reason that biographies (including auto-biographies) of great men and women will hopefully continue to inspire future generations.

One more thing before we conclude. While the finesses of the political history like the exact dates of wars and victories which dominated the vision of earlier historians don't need that much attention, it can't be ignored altogether at the same time. Even for understanding socio-economic developments in a time-and-space-frame atleast a bare chronological framework is a great desideratum. To ignore it will prove to be suicidal for historical studies. What is therefore needed is a synthesis of political and cultural history, in fine, an integral h[illegible]tory.

References :

1. *Sargaś ca pratisargaś ca vaṁśo manvantarāṇi ca ।*
   Vaṁśānucaritaṁ caiva Purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam.
2. *Itihāsa-Purāṇābhyāṁ Vedaṁ samupabṛṁhayet ।*
   Bibhety-alpaśrutād Vedo māṁ ayaṁ prahariṣyati ॥
3. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54. See also Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Gupta Sāmrājya* (Hindi), Vishvavidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, 1970 pp. 102-03.
4. Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'The Purāṇic King Pramati : Some Observations', *Purāṇam*, XXXIII, No. 1, 1991, pp. 25-59; *Re-appraising Gupta History for Prof. S.R. Goyal*, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Jodhpur, 1992, pp. 127-54.
5. 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History', *The Indian Historical Review*, II, 1976, pp. 259-81.
6. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913.
7. R. Morton Smith published his *Dates and Dynasties in Earliest India* (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi) in 1973, but unfortunately he has not consulted. and collated any fresh manuscript.
8. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, introduction, pp. xvi-xviii. See also Appendix I.
9. Vide also A.B. Keith in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 1021ff.; 1915, pp. 328ff.; D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 2nd edn., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971, pp. 27-28. While Keith is critical of Pargiter's stand that the text was composed originally in Prakrit and Sanskritised later, Sircar sees Prakritism in some geographical names and appears to endorse Pargiter's viewpoint. M. Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature*, I, translated from German by S. Ketkar, University of Calcutta, 1927,

p. 524 note) agrees with Pargiter.

10. For details, see S.R. Goyal, *Kautilya and Megasthenes*, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Meerut (now Jodhpur), 1985, pp. 132-34; *The Indica of Megasthenes : Its Contents and Reliability*, Kusumanjali Prakashan, Jodhpur, 2000, pp. 87-90.

11. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 42, fn. 8 See also Ajay Mitra Shastri, 'Purāṇas on the Sātavahanas : An Archaeological - Historical Perspective'. In Ajay Mitra Shastri, ed. *The Age of the Sātavāhanas*, I' Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1999, p. 28 for discussion.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-72. *Vide* also 'Chronicling Andhra-Satavahanas: Puraṇic Data Analysed', *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, New Series, LXXIII, 1998, pp. 149-78.

13. Puraṇas on the Vakaṭakas : An Analytical Study'. *ibid.*, New Series, LXXIV, 1999, pp. 171-86.

14. As we have seen earlier, some of the *Vāyu* manuscripts are familiar with the Gupta emperors up to Skanda Gupta.

THE MADHYAMIKA AND YOGĀCARA UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE IDENTITY OF NIRVAṆA AND SAṀSARA

Arvind Sharma

I

Mahāyanā Buddhism in India, though "otherwise singularly free from doctrinal disputes", did give rise to "two philosophical schools... the Madhyamikas and the Yogacarins."[1]. Both these schools subscribed to the identity of Nirvāṇa and Saṁsara[2]. This paper is an attempt to distinguish between their understandings of this identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsāra.

In order to provide the paper with a sharper focus, it will be useful to be philosophically more precise, since both these schools of Mahayanā philosophy – the Mādhyamika and the Yogacara – underwent a certain measure of internal differentiation[3] in the course of their evolution. For the purpose of this paper, therefore, it should be specified that herein it is the Madhyamika formulation of the identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsāra as found in the *Mādhyamika Karika*[4] which he compared with the Yogacara formulation of the same as found in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*[5].

II

The Mādhyamika understanding of the identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsāra, a la Nagarjuna, can be understood in three steps. The first step consists in the recognition that of the constituents of Saṁsāra – the external universe and the individual – we cannot affirm "either reality or non-reality."[6] They are not self-existent entities.[7] Similarly,and this is the second step, one must recognise that "Nirvāṇa is neither an existent thing nor a non- existent thing."[8] This leads to the third step. Nirvaṇa and Saṁsāra are the same in as much as one cannot affirm the reality or non- reality of either. It was necessary to go through these steps to demonstrate that the identity between Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara Nagarjuna speaks of is, as Frederick J. Strong has pointed out, a "negative identity."[9] The 'negative tedency' in dealing with *nirvāṇa and saṁsara* as 'undifferentiated' rather than 'the same' is importance to prevent the misunderstanding that emptiness is an Absolute in the sense of Brahman in Advaita Vedanta thought."[10]

This point is of key importance. Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara are not rolling themselves along like the wheel of life and death.[11]

III

The Yogacara school also accepts the identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara. But, for the Yogacara school, this identity is a *positive* identity. Thus the *Laṅkavatara Sutra* says:

> Those who are suffering or show fear of suffering, think of Nirvaṇa as an escape and recompense. They imagine that Nirvaṇa consists in the future annihilation of the senses and the sense-minds; they are not aware that the Universal Mind and Nirvaṇa are One, and that this life-and-death world and Nirvāṇa are not to be separated. These ignorant ones, instead of meditating on the imagelessness of Nirvaṇa talk of different ways of emancipation. Being ignorant of or not understanding, the teachings of the Tathāgatas, they cling to the notion of Nirvaṇa that is outside what is seen of the mind and thus, go on as suggested by the Madhyamika school under the influence of the doctrine of śunyata.[12]

Further elaboration of this position is provided by Sthiramati, who wrote one of the ten commentaries on Vasubandhu's *Triṁśika*[13], in a passage on his discourse on the *Mahayana-dharmadhatu:*

> Therefore, says the Muni of Śakya: O Śariputra, the world of sentient beings is not different from Dharmakaya; the Dharmakaya is not different from the world of sentient being. What constitutes the Dharmakaya is the world of sentient being; and what constitutes the world of sentient beings is the Dharmakaya.[14]

The fact that Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara here have a 'positive identity' is further suggested by the fact that the "Laṅkavatara has to protest that the *tathata-garbha* is not the same as the Hindu *atman*."[15] The *tathata* of *Vijñanavada*," corresponds to the emptiness or void of the Madhyamikas and to the Brahman of Advaita Vedanta."[16] Thus Yogacara with its doctrine of *tathata*, *alayavijñana*, and the three bodies of the Buddha asserted a "positive identity" of Nirvana and Saṁsara, as distinguished from the position that it is the "negative identity" of these two to be distinguished from each other, which is identical, inasmuch as reality or non-reality cannot be asserted with regard to either, and therefore they constitute a "negative identity."[17]

IV

To conclude: although both the Mādhyamika and the Yogacara schools of Mahayana accept the proposition of the identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara, for the former it constitutes a"negative identity" and for the latter a positive one.

References :

1. E. Conze, Buddhism: the Mahāyanā, in R.C. Zaehner, ed., *The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1959, p. 317.
2. E. Conze enumerates this identity as the third proposition, while listing the ontological doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism (*Ibid.*). Similarly Lucien Stryk observes: that "Mahayana non- duality... culminates in the astonishing paradox that Nirvaṇa is Saṁsara" *World of the Buddha: A Reader,* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968, p. 283, diacritical marks added. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en also regards the identity of Nirvaṇa and Saṁsara as a feature not just of one school of Mahāyanā philosophy but of Mahayanā philosophy in general: "The Mahāyana thus arrived at their second great thesis, the phenomenal world is nirvaṇa, nirvaṇa is the phenomenal world". *Buddhism*, New York: Barrow's Educational Series, 1968, p.722. Diacritical markes added. Richard H. Robinson, however, refers to the Mādhyamika principle that Tantric practice is based on it" *The Buddhist Religion : A Historical Introduction*, Belmont, California: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1970, p. 74. A.L Basham demonstrates the comparability of the Mādhyamika and Yogācara positions in this respect through two passages – one from the *Śiksasamuccaya*,

the other from the *Lankavatarasutra,* see Mahayana Buddhism: " The Greater Vehicle" in Wm. Theodore'de Bary, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition,* New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, p. 177-178, something he does not do elsewhere (see *The Wonder That Was India*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1969,p.281).

3. See Richard H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p.54; Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., *op. cit.*, p.155-156; Edward J. Thomas, *The History of Buddhist Thought,* New York: Barnes and Noble,1971, p. 237.

4. See Frederick J. Strong, *Emptiness : A Study in Religious Meaning,* New York: Abingdon Press, 1967, Appendix A.

5. See Lucien Stryk, *op. cit.*, p. 277-282; for the connection between the *Sūtra* and Yogacara see Richard H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p.70-71, Edward J. Thomas, *op. cit.*, Chap. XVIII.

6. *Mulamādhyamikakārika* V. 8

7. Frederick J. Strong. *op. cit.*, p.187.

8. *Mulamadhyamikarika* XXV.10.

9. *Op. cit.*, p.75, using an expression of J. May, it would appear.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Lucien Stryk. ed., *op. cit.*, p. 277

12. It is worth noting that for the Madhyamikas the phenomenal world is more real than it ever was to the Yogācara, while for the Yogacara the Ultimate is more real, as at least stated in more real terms, than the Mādhyamikas would ever consent to. The first point may be further developed by referring to the parable to the monk with defective vision. Nāgārjuna taught that the world had a qualified reality."A monk with defective eyesight may imagine that he sees flies in a begging bowl and they have full reality for the percipient. Though the flies are not real the illusion of

flies is. From the point of view of another level of truth "The Mādhyamika philosophers tried to prove that all our experience of the phenomenal world is like that of the short-sighted monk, that all beings labour under the constant illusion of perceiving things where in fact there is only emptiness" (Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. *op. cit.*, p. 155). The Vijñānavādins tried to show that "The whole universe exists only in the mind of the perceiver. The fact of illusion, as in the case of the flies in the short-sighted monk's bowl, or the experience of dreams, was adduced as evidence to show that all normal human experience was of the same type", *ibid.*, p.156. The second point can be developed by recognising that while the "Mādhyamikas maintained that no positive statement whatsoever can be made about the Absolute,... The Yogacarins... believed by contrast that the Absolute can usefully be described as 'Mind', 'Thought' or 'Consciousness', R. C. Zaehner, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 317.

13. Edward J. Thomas,. *op. cit.*, p.238.

14. Lucien Stryk, ed., *op. cit.*, p.297, some diacritical marks added.

15. Richard H. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p.72.

16. Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 157.

17. We have used Frederick J. Strong's presentation here as the best approximation of the Mādhyamika position according to Nāgārjuna. While criticizing those who see Nāgārjuna, as postulating "as absolute essence beyond any particular manifestation"(*op. cit.*, p.76) he says "such an interpretation is contrary to Buddhist thought in which the 'whole' is *not* considered to be real while the constituents be unreal e.g. in the well- known example of the chariot and the parts which make up the chariot. neither is admitted to be real in itself" (*Ibid.*). This may be contrasted with Kenneth K.S. Ch'en's use of the same simile with the statement in 'Hinayāna' "The axle, wheel, rim and spokes are the elements that compose the chariot and are considered

as real and existing but the chariot as sum total of the parts is not considered as real", *op. cit.*, p. 72. It is quite clear Strong's statement accords better with a Mahayana point of view, as Mahayana speaks of both *puḍgala śunyata* as well as *dharmaśunyata*.

GLIMPSES OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE *MAHABHĀRATA*

Alka Bakre

Social control is a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned by which individuals are taught, persuaded or compelled to conform to the uses and life values of group[1]. Mutual interaction amongst people is mostly within the framework of societal regulation resulting into social order which acts as a mechanism through which social control is established or sustained.[2]

NATURE OF SOCIAL CONTROL

Social control is seen to be operationg at two levels – (1) Unconscious level and (2) conscious or deliberate. At unconscious level, members of society internalize the dos and don'ts or norms such as folkways, mores, customs, public opinions, sanctions, institutions etc. through the process of socialization. Belief and value systems, educational system, religious norms and other cultural traditions are also seen to be influencing and regulating social behaviour. At conscious or deliberate level, the agencies such as the State, the government force the members of society to abide by the rules and regulations made and laws enacted in the interest of people at large. The attempt to deal with the theoretical concept of social control is definitely modern (Ross whose book entitled 'Social control' published in 1901 is considered to be the pioneering Sociologist to have dealt with this concept). However, social control in some form or the other is seen to have existed in all societies. It is, thus, a universal social phenomenon.

Literary works and society are seen to be interacting with each other. The *Mahabharata*, the great epic of India could not remain being unmirrored by the phenomenon of social control. The text being voluminous in size, just some of the glimpses of this phenomenon will be dealt with.

The historical, archaeological and astronomical findings indicate that the *Mbh.* had grown in stages from 8,000 verses of *Jaya*, through 24,000 verses of the *Bhārata* to the present day 1,00,000 verses of the *Mbh.* The findings regarding social control in the *Mbh.* are based on the *Śatasahasrisaṁhitā* as we have it to-day for reasons more than one. Firstly, none of the efforts undertaken so far to have a clear picture of the internal sratigraphy of this text have as yet been fructified satisfactorily. Secondly, the field coverd by the *Śatasāhasrīsamhitā* is much wider and it represents society at large.

At unconscious level, the value and belief systems influence the norms to be followed by the members of society. Values shape the moral fabric of society as well. Ancient Sanskrit texts have been emphasizing the importance of four goals of human life (*puruṣārthas*). *Dharma* was considered to be the best principle of the group of three (*trivarga*). *Artha* and *Kāma* were supposed to be in consonance with *dharma*. Non-abandonment of *dharma* was a highly cherished age-old norm. Of course, the connotation to the term *dharma* went on changing from time to time. Thus, the *Rv.* (IV.53.34,V.63) uses it in the sense of fixed principles or rules of conduct. The *Av.* (X. 9.17) uses it in the sense of merit acquired by the performance of religious rites. The *Ch. Up.* (II.23) has used it in the sense of peculiar duties of students, householders and hermits. The *Tait. Up.* (1. 2 *Dharmam cara*) uses it in the sense of privileges, duties and obligations of man, his standard of conduct. According to *Jaimini* (I. 1.2 *codanālakṣaṇah dharmaḥ*), it is an earnest injuction related with sacrifice which itself was *dharma* in support of *ṛta*.[3]

The *Mbh*. uses the term *dharma* in a much wider sense. *Dharma* in the *Mbh*. also comprised righteous conduct, various ideal principles or values such as self control, charity, non-violence, *puruṣārthas* truth, *varṇa* and *āśrama* systems, religious ideals etc. By the time of the *Śatasāhasrīsaṁhitā* they had assumed the form of social norms. Most of them were regarded as the constituents of *dharma*. They kept on regulating social behaviour and imposing social control at both conscious and unconscious levels.

The *Mbh*. declared *dharma* to be threefold, that followed by respectable people, that laid down in the works of *Dharmaśāstra*, that stated in the Vedas and considered the last one to be the best of all[4]. Forgiveness, truth, straightforwardness, purity, absence of jealousy, satisfaction, pleasing speech, control over senses, sacrifice, penance were regarded as ideal principles of the first type of *śiṣṭācāra* (*Mbh. Āraṇyaka P.* 179, 79^{cd} , 91). Each *yuga* had its own *dharma* and out of four *yugadharmas*, the *dharma* of *Kṛtayuga* was characterised by eternal *dharma* which was ideal in nature (*Ibid. Vana P.* 149.11ff). Control over senses and mind were believed to be leading to absence of fear, affliction, hatred and wickness (*Ibid. Āraṇyaka P.* 198.69^{c}). The *Mbh.* stresses the importance of excellent conduct (*śīla*) according to which charity, absence of hatred, constitute excellent conduct (*Ibid., Śānti P.*124.4). Non-violence is regarded as the a highest type of *dharma* and a person not causing harm to others was declared to be capable of freeing himself from the bonds of activities.[5] The *Mbh.* has glorified truth as reservoir of nectar, Brahma, penance, eternal *dharma* (*Ibid.*18.2) can take one to the heavenly world[6] and has identified *satya* and *anṛta* with *dharma* and *adharma* (*Ibid.*183.3). It has praised many other virtues such as courage, staightforward nature, softness (of heart), steadiness, respect for teachers or elderly persons (*Ibid.* 160.7^{cd}, 13^{ab}.14-15). Anger, desire, grief, intoxication, pride, greed, jealousy, hatred were regarded as man's enemies (*Ibid.* 163.-1-3). Stability of mind was believed to be leading to peace of mind which enabled one to achieve salvation (*Ibid. Āraṇyaka P.* 203.50, *Bhīṣma P.* 26. 55^{cd} 56^{ab}, 58,71). Sleep, sloth, fear, anger, laziness are condemned as vices[7]. The *Mbh.* distinguishes between *dharma* laid down by authoritative texts (*Śrutis*) and subtle (*sūkṣma*) *dharma* according to which whatever was in the interest of beings was truth (*satya*) and its opposite was *adharma* (*Ibid. Vana P.* 209.2,4).

BELIEF SYSTEM

Karman doctrine and the doctrine of transmigration of soul which emphasize the principle 'Reap as you sow' were inextricably woven together. They are as old as the *apauruṣeya śrutis*[8]. At unconscious level, they had formed vital part of Indian social structure. The *Mbh.* retained their importance as they induced people to resort ot righteous conduct (*Mbh. Śānti P.* 125.23-25, *Anuśāsana P.* 7 3-4,15-16, *Ibid.*145.30^{cd}). Thus, it is stated that the activity of a standing person stands, of a moving person moves. It follows one like one's own shadow or like a calf following the mother-cow. A child, a young man and even an old man has to enjoy the fruit of one's action.[9] According to the *Mbh.*, activities are of three types and so are their consequences. Charity, non-violence etc. lead to the heavenly world, activities of opposite nature enable one to be born as a human being (*mānuṣya*). However, desire, violence or greed dissociate one from *mānuṣya* as associate him with *tiryakyonitva* (*Ibid. Āraṇyaka P.* 178.9-12). The *Mbh.* mirrors the concept of the group of three (*trivarga*) with its relation to the fourth goal of human life viz. salvation (*mokṣa*).

Dharma, here, is considered to be the best among the three goals. *Artha* is said to be springing from *dharma* and *kāma* is believed to be the fruit of *artha*. The non-pursuit of these goals was believed to be leading to salvation (*Ibid. Śānti P.* 123.3-4,15). The verses expressing metaphysical thoughts also deal with the concept of *mokṣa*. At times, practical means such as victory over senses or withdrawal from sensual objects are said to be leaing to *mokṣa* (*Ibid.* 274.14.1[a]). At other times, the knowledge of distinction between *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* (*Ibid.* 273.33) or that of the unity in diversity[10] or the knowledge of the Highest *Puruṣa* who is beyond *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* (*Ibid. Bhīṣma P.* 39.18) or the ability to reach unborn indestructible Lord *Viṣṇu* who in fact is the same as Brahman (*Ibid. Śānti P.* 206.12.14) or the practice of *dhyānayoga* (*Ibid. Bhīṣma* P.30.10.15) is said to be enabling the aspirant to achieve *parama śānti* or final beatitude. Thus, synthesizing many ideologies, the *Mbh.* has left full scope for people to choose any one of them as a means to attain *mokṣa*.

NORMS REGARDING *VARṆA* AND *ĀŚRAMA* SYSTEMS

VARṆA NORMS

While laying down occupational and behavioural norms for the members of fourfold *varṇa* society, on the one hand, the *Mbh.* states that all *varṇa*-s are alike, *varṇa* differences are caused by occupational differences[11] and on the other hand, the text establishes the supremacy of *Brāhmaṇa varṇa*[12]. The norms of the following traditional *varṇa* duties did serve significant purpuses such as providing an opportunity for the members of younger generation to learn and imbibe the hereditary skills through close association with elderly people, to preserve social order and stable social system. The *Mbh.* also induced and encouraged people to stick to their rigid *varṇa* duties which formed a *dharma* leading to perfection (*Mbh. Bhīṣma P.* 42. 45). Law-givers like Manu, *Yājñavalkya* dealt with the concepts of elevation and degradation of castes (*jātyutkarṣa* and *jātyapakarṣa*) in the context of intercaste marriages and adopting other's way of livelihood.[13] The *Mbh.* reflects the prevalence of intercaste marriages but the children born of such wedlock were termed as *saṅkaraja varṇa*-s (*Mbh. Śānti P.* 296. 8-9). It is equally remarkable to note that as per the norms of the *Mbh.*, birth was not the only criterion to determine one's own *varṇa*. That is why it is stated that the nature of activities performed and the virtues such as purity, proficiency in the Vedic studies, charity, self-control, absence of hatred, forgiveness, penance etc. constitute brahminhood (*brāhmaṇatva*). (*Ibid. Śānti P.* 182. 2-4). This thought later on led to liberal ideology regarding flexible *varṇa* distinctions reflected in the Purāṇic statements such as– "There is no distinction at all between a *Brāhmaṇa* and a *Śūdra*" (*Bhaviṣya P.* I.41^{cd}).

ĀŚRAMA NORMS

Dividing the total span of life into four categories, the *Mbh.* expected people to stick to the age-old, rigid *āśrama* norms (*Mbh. Śānti P.* 184. 7ff) which brought about social order. At the same time it is signifcant to take note of emphatic statements such as-- "Salvation cannot be achieved through external marks such as *kaṣāya* garments, *muṇḍana*, *kamaṇḍalu* etc. It is the *jñāna* arising out of the spirit of detachment (*vairāgya*) which helps one in achieving salvation." (*Mbh. Śānti P.* 308.47.29).

FAMILY NORMS

By and large *āśrama* system regulated family norms. Glimpses of these norms are reflected in the *dharmalakṣaṇa*-s to be followed during different stages of life (*Ibid.* 184.7ff). Regarding the nature of husband-wife relationship, it can be stated that the *Mbh.* considered wife as the husband's highest goal. As for the wife, she was expected to be faithful to her husband and was supposed to be ever interested in his welfare. An ideal wife was expected to regard her husband to be her only resort (*Ibid.* 142.8). Good nature, pleasing words, good behaviour, and interest in waiting upon the husband and in-laws were considered to be ideal values to be imbibed by women (*Ibid. Anuśāsana P.* 146.34ff).

SIMPLICATION OF NORMS

Replacement of Sacrifices– The *Mbh.* is seen to be simplifying religious norms by stressing the importance of visits to holy place, stay at those places, worship of god, performance of *tarpaṇa* rites in honour of forefathers. According to the *Mbh.* they enabled people to secure fruits which are generally secured by performing various sacrifices. Thus, a visit to *Vaṭeśvara* or the worship of *Keśava* were said to be enabling one to fulfil one's own desires (*Ibid. Āraṇyaka P.* 82.11). Servitude of *Kauśikī* at the same place was supposed to bestow the fruit of *Rājasūya* sacrifice. Fast at *Ṛṣabhatīrtha* was said to be bestowing the fruit which is secured by performing *Vajapeya* sacrifice (*Ibid.*83.10) and a visit to *Śriparvatatirtha* was believed to be giving an opportunity of reaching the heaven (*Ibid.* 83.7ff).

Charity – Charity or generosity was one of the noble virtues cherished by Indian people right from the days of the *Rgveda* (*Rv.* I. 125, V. 61, VII. 22-25, *Tait. S.*V.1.63, *Br. Up.* V. 2. 3). The same tradition was continued by law- givers like Manu and *Yajñavlkya* and even by the composers of the *Purana-s*. The *Mbh.* also has eulogised the concept of *dana.* The text abounds in praises of gifts of food, garlands, unguents, bed, land, gold, water, cows. Gift of land (*bhūmidana*) was considered to be the best *dana.* (*Ibid. Anu. P.* 62. 92^{a}).Gift of food in honour of a brahmin could free the donor from the impact of sinful activities (*Ibid.* 63.16). On the one hand, the *Mbh.* replaced the institution of sacrifice by simpler deeds and on the other hand, through appeals to people to bestow gifts upon brahmins, it kept the means of their livelihood in tact.

RAJADHARMA

As stated earlier, the state and the government are the agencies which can control social behaviour at conscious level. In the age of monarchy, the *Mbh.* laid down norms and duties to be followed by kings as well. A king was supposed to protect his subjects like his own son (*Ibid Śanti P.* 64.28). According to the *Mbh.*, a virtuous self-control, soft-natured , religious-minded king (*dharmyaḥ*--or a king caring for the principles of righteous conduct) becomes prosperous (*Ibid.* 56.19). Existence of a king who is a good ruler, able administrator and punisher of offenders was deemed absolutely necessary to control the stronger ones who are inclined to destroy the weaker ones (*Ibid.* 67.16-17). A self-controlled king was expected to vanquish his enemies, place his fourfold army at forts, at places of alliances, in cities and gardens, to appoint intelligent and well tested spies (*Ibid.* 69.5-8). Taking into condideration the fact that Brahma and Kṣatra render mutual help, he was supposed to appoint a learned, well read brahmin as a *rajapurohita* to carry out the *yogakṣema* of his territory (*Ibid.* 74.1,11^{cd}) and officers such as *gramadhipati, gramaśatapala* (*Ibid.* 88.3.5). The *Mbh.* discussed the concept of the constituents of a *saptanga* kingdom of which *Kośa* was the most important constituent which could maintain *dharma* and *artha* (*Idid.* 128. 12^{a}). Prosperity of the kingdom was dependent upon treasure (*Ibid.* 88. 24). A king was supposed to amass wealth from his own territory

(*Ibid.* 131.1^{ab}). Knowing the importance of forts in protecting the city, the *Mbh.* has stressed the importance of *durga* with its six varieties (*Ibid.* 87.5-6). The *Mbh.* noted the importance of various assistants born of noble family who would be interested in the welfare of the kingdom (*Ibid.*115.15). According to the *Mbh.*, the *mantrin*-s and the *saciva*-s of a king were expected to be endowed with excellent qualities such as noble birh, proficiency in sciences and lores, activeness, farsightedness etc. (*Ibid.* 118 s. 3ff). Allotment of duties to *sevakajana*-s was expected to be in consonance with their ability. The *Mbh.* expected kings to have a sense of propriety regarding the activites to be performed and to be avoided with its relation to propriety of time and place (*Ibid.* 136.14^{cd}) and considered them to be capable of shaping time and creating *Kṛtayuga* which is the best of all *yuga*-s (*Ibid. Udyoga P.* 180. 15^{cd}, 16^{ab}).

RAJADAṆḌA

Knowing well that rare indeed are the people of pure minds (*Ibid.* 15. 346) and it is the fear of punishment that compels people to act within the limits and tread the righteous path (*Ibid.* 12^{cd}), the *Mbh.* emphasized the importance of *daṇḍa* as an excellent means of social control in unequivocal terms by explaining the etymological meaning of the term *daṇḍa* stating that *daṇḍa* is *daṇḍa* because of its ability to control (*damanat*). (*Ibid.* 35). According to the *Mbh.*, *daṇḍa* was an efficient means of administration, a means of protecting subjects, a means enabling one to pursue the target of *trivarga* which prevented people from performing sinful activities (*Ibid.* 1 ff). The *Mbh.* expected kings to examine the cases of criminals carefully before inflicting punishment upon them (*Ibid.* 71.7).

IDEAL KING

By expecting a king to be actively carrying out his activities speedily, to be engaged in the pursuit of our *puruṣārtha*-s (*Ibid.* 57.13), to be interested in preserving *cāturvarṇya* (*Ibid.* 15.1) and in looking into the merits and demerits of *ṣāḍguṇya*, the *Mbh.* not only controlled the behaviour of a king but also that of the society at large so as best to lead to social stability.

ADVICE REGARDING *YUDDHANITI*

The *Mbh.* expected a fighting king to think in terms of *dharmadharmavicara* and to adopt a policy of tit for tat against his enemy. Thus, it expected him to face an armoured enemy with his own armour on, to attack an enemy with soldiers with the help of soldiers, to countermeasure an enemy who cheats with a similar policy. However, it expected him to counteract an enemy following righteous principles with fair means.... According to the *Mbh*., a desperate enemy with his weapons destroyed, bow broken into pieces and with his vehicle perished was not to be attacked at all, he was to be left unwounded and death in consonance with the pursuit of *dharma* was always preferable to securing victory over one's enemy by sinful means (*Ibid*. 96. 8-14, 16^{cd}).

In conclusion, it can be stated that norms stated above which formed the constituents of the then existing structure of society did carry out important function of regulating social behaviour and bringing about social control. They could be thought of from two different points of view.

(1) At conscious level, the *Mbh*. popularised these norms and expected members of society to conform to them with a view to prevent tensions caused by the desire to deviate from them. Moreover, again at conscious level, the *Mbh*. presented characters that were the embodiments of virtues and amalgamations of vices. They were shown to be rewarded and punished in the course of time. This was a deliberate attempt to induce people to follow righteous conduct.

(2) At unconscious level, people went on cherishing them and absorbing them into their personalities. The fact that many of these norms are seen to have been stressed by the composers of the *Purana*-s in the *Puranic* age indicates how effective was the social control effected by the *Mahabharata*.

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4. *Mahabharata, Araṇyaka P.* 178. 78

   वेदोक्तः परमो धर्मो धर्मशास्त्रेपु चापरः।
   शिष्टाचीर्णश्च शिप्टानां त्रिविधं धर्मलक्षणम्॥

5. *Ibid. Śanti P.* 124.15, 64.

6. *Ibid. Śānti P.* 169. 26^{d} सत्ये ह्यमृतमाश्रितम्।

   181. 2^{d} स्वर्गाय विदधे प्रभुः॥

7. *Ibid. Udyoga P.* 33.66

   पड् दोपाः पुरुपेणेह हातव्या भूतिमिच्छता।
   निद्रा तन्द्री भयं क्रोध आलस्यं दीर्घसूत्रता॥

8. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 2.13

   यथाकारी यथाचारी तथा भवति। साधुकारी साधुर्भवति
   पुण्यः वै पुण्येन कर्मणा भवति पापः पापेन।

9. *Mbh. Anuśāsana P.* 322.9,15.16

10. *Mbh. Śanti P.* 239.21

    सर्वभूतेपु चात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चात्मनि।
    यथा पश्यति भूतात्मा ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा॥

11. *Mbh. Śānti P.* 181.10

    न विशेपोSस्ति, वर्णानां सर्वं ब्राह्ममिदं जगत्।
    ब्रह्मणा पूर्वसृष्टं हि कर्मभिर्वर्णातां गतम्॥

12. *Mbh. Udyoga P.* 6.1.

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THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ* AS THE BASIS OF RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF THE INDIANS

Girish Baruah

The *Bhagavadgītā* speaks of the spiritual religion. It sets forth in precise words the principles of such a religion. The religion it advocates is not the religion of dogmas. It enlightens the Indians with the profundity of Hinduism as a spiritual religion. It speaks of the Indian wisdom which lies deeper in the heart of Hinduism.

The *Gītā* teaches the lessons of spiritualism which is the real gist of the Indian religion. Due to this teaching the Indian people have become spirtitually gifted. So it has a special place among the Indians.

The *Gītā* carries on the true tradition of the Indians. It is appealing because it does not speak of any sectarian religion within Hinduism, but Hinduism as a whole. It synthesises the whole gamut of the Indian spirit. The religion it advocates is not the crude fetishism of the savage, but the spiritual affirmations of the seers. In this way it fulfils the religious aspirations of the people of India in general.

Religion, in the sense of the *Gītā,* means spiritual wisdom. To be religious means to be spiritual minded. Through the religious practice man can cultivate the inner quality, which is deemed as spiritual and divine at the same time. Its religious teaching aims at illumining the soul, which is the real essence of man. The soul which is covered with the material set-up cannot realise itself. So the religious teaching of the *Gītā* centres round the question of the delivery of the soul out of the material setting.

The *Gītā* has not deviated from the main principles of the Hindu religion. It has stated them with a new emphasis. It sets forth the Upaniṣadic principles with a theistic bias. It honours the tradition whole heartedly, but cautions people to grasp the true tradition. Although it sticks faithfully to the *prajñā puraṇi* i.e. the ancient wisdom, it gives a new interpretation to it so that people can accept it with a new light.

A man is generally baffled by different currents of faith running within the same religion. As we know there are three cults of Hinduism namely Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava ; and again there are three practices within it namely *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna*. Which of them will be followed by man ? The *Gītā* tries to reconcile all these distinct faiths and practices and remove from man's mind all the doubts regarding religion. It teaches that all these different lines converge towards the same end.

The life of religion means the life of spirit beyond the external paraphernalia. What path a man follows, it does not matter. What matters is whether he aims at the true goal or not. To practise religion is not to lead a pompous life with material grandeur, but a simple life with spiritual upbringing. It advocates the simplicity of religious practice which attracts common man and therefore it has a hold on him. Thus the *Bhagavadgītā* tightens the very edifice founded by the *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads*.

The *Bhagavadgītā* not only contributes to the religious life of the Indians but also to their philosophical life. Although it is not a philosophical book in the technical sense, yet it has highlighted many philosophical principles. In the Indian sense philosophy i.e. *darśana* means seeing truth and reality. What is apparent is not real and, therefore a philosopher's duty is to bring out the truth amidst outward appearances.

In the *Bhagavadgītā* Kṛṣṇa is not only a preacher of religious truth alone, he also preaches philosophical truth. In so doing he is not however presenting metaphysical jargons difficult to be understood by common people. The *Gītā* is not a book on esoteric metaphysics meant for only a selected few. It is a book for commoners and it presents its spiritual philosophy not for simply knowing or theorising but for practising. It is to be practised by the king and the commoner alike.

The *Gītā* deals with the meaning and value of existence. It presents eternal values to be adopted by the people in general. The philosophy it presents is nothing but theoretical aspect of the religion to be practised. Philosophy in its sense is the guiding principle as to how man can lead a religious life. It is a guide to both morality and religion.

While its philosophy deals with the nature of human life explaining the divine and spiritual principles, religion it preaches tries to follow them. The human life consists in both material and spiritual principles and the ultimate aim of it is to attain liberation.

The *Gītā* shows us the path as to how this liberation can be achieved.

Kṛṣṇa puts forward before Arjuna the philosophy of life and reality. He says that true philosophy does away with human doubt and error. It cleanses the human intellect of its dirts, desiring pleasure etc. It presents a *buddhiyoga* so that man can cultivate a sense of indifference or nonchalance in action.

Being one of the *prasthānatrayas* of the Vedānta, the *Gītā's* main concept is the concept of *Brahman* or God, being the ultimate reality. Nothing can be achieved unless a man knows this reality. It admits of the Upaniṣadic philosophy that in knowing *Brahman* everything else can be known. We are to understand the other episodes of our life only in the light of this *Brahman* knowledge. So it insists on knowing *Brahman* and it delineates this matter in its *jñānayoga*. Apart from this it also presents its *sāṁkhyayoga* in which we can know the self. So knowing God and the self are the essential preconditions of leading a moral life without it is in vain to have a human life.

The *Gītā* may be regarded to be the quintessence of Indian philosophy. It deals with all the philosophical principles that man has to learn to lead a good life. With its *Brahmavādi* philosophy it places a metaphysical background, a solid foundation by knowing which man can understand the true meaning of his life.

Man is to live not only an intellectual life but also an aesthetic one. Man's aesthetic sense imparts him a cultural understanding of his position as a man. Culture is necessary to elevate our life to a high moral standard and to uplift it on the spiritual line.

We the Indians have a different culture and it is the gift of the Vedic tradition. The *Gītā* sincerely follows the Vedic tradition and tries to refine it of all material dirts. To lead a cultured life means to lead a good life. So it inculcates human values of truth, good and beauty and asks us to cultivate them.

The advice of the *Gītā* is to release ourselves from the narrow sphere of our selfishness and to cultivate a sense of universality. We are to work so that humanity as a whole is benefitted. The *Gītā* is not wanting in the Biblic version that service to man is the service to God. We cannot live apart from human society. The *Gita's* teaching is not to go to the Himalayas or *āśramas* to practise an ascetic life. We should be worldly men with a sense of detachment.

To lead a cultured life means to live a life without desire i.e. kāma. We may either practise *karma*, *bhakti* or *jñāna* but with a sense of datachment (*niṣkāma*). What we do is not a great matter, but everything we are to do without attachment, mainly attachment to the fruits of action. So the *Gītā* asks us to cultivate knowledge so that we can work with prudence. It also asks us to cultivate *bhakti* so that we can work without arrogance (*ahaṁkāra*). When we behave without arrogance we can submit ourselves to God, which is an essential element for leading a cultured life.

Social commitment is one of the main virtues to be practised by man. He should not do something for his own benefit, but for the benefit for others so that universal welfare of humanity can be achieved. All selfish desires are to be buried and a sense of universal brotherhood is to be cultivated. Man is a social animal and therefore while doing something he is to think for others.

In the *Gītā* we find a concentrated expression of the social creativity of the Indian people. It brings unto them the message of spiritual production, not of material one. Material uplift simply makes us civilised without any cultural outlook. But without culture our civilisation will be a hollow one without any significant import. It tries to give us a taste of life based on spiritual culture. It is not enough to have simply a social being ; we are to cultivate a social consciousness catering all aspects of our life: economic, ethical, religious, political and so on. It feels that we cannot raise the cultural standards of our people without raising our spiritual standards. Both go together.

Culture includes within its scope beliefs, practices, traditions, morals, values, institutions like family, morality, religion, education etc. It also includes listening to *śāstras*, eating and drinking the right sort of things and always behaving in an acceptable way. A consistent behaviour leads to a cultured life. We have lessons in the *Gītā* about such a behaviour or conduct.

Culture is a complex whole which includes knowledge, law, customs and any other capacities and habits required by man as a member of society. It expresses the aspirations of the people. The Indian culture expresses the aspirations of the Indian people. The Indian people have become what they are to-day through the

Indian culture carried through the treatises like the *Gita.* It fulfils the needs and the purposeful activities of the Indian people. It has created sweetness and light in our life. It fulfils the cultural needs of the Indian people, because it fulfils the needs of the total life of them that goes on within them as a nation. It is so because it teaches what they think, feel, believe, desire and fear. Thus it has built up a definite culture in India. Through it, it has been possible to express the character of the nation as a whole. It has not only expressed this character *in toto* but also as a powerful instrument has moulded it. Teaching the way of right living, it has given us a society with a higher culture with the distinction of being so racognised, for which the other nations look to it as the ideal and with esteem.

DHARMA AS A SOURCE OF INDIVIDUAL SELF

Nirbhai Singh

I

The purpose of the present paper is a philosophical exploration into the concept of *dharma* in the context of Indian religious and cultural traditions with a view to understanding the metaphysical foundation of the term. I, therefore, propose to make explicit sense of the technique of *verstehen* model leading to axiogenesis, creativity and microscopic analysis of the key concept and its philosophical significance. An endeavour will be made to probe into the problem whether the Indian notion of *dharma* in theory and praxis has been influenced by the Western metaphysical and religious beliefs on the Indian philosophical thought and sociopolitical praxis.

In this era of post-modernity human destiny is in the melting volcanic pot of material values. It is a global phenomenon that Western materialistic outlook of science and technology has a satanic impact in all walks of life. In spite of these malignant influences there are some redeeming rays of hope, which may help mankind to bridge the yawning gulf of survival and annihilation of life on the earth. No doubt, Western civilization has imposed materialistic outlook on our lifestyle, but it could not dominate the coral Indian spiritual culture. I can concede to this much extent that in our day-to-day interpersonal relations we have evinced materialistic attitude towards the world and other human beings but the collective psyche of the common folks of India is still tied up with its hoary spiritual culture.

Mahatma Gandhi with a view to vivifying India's glorious past virulently reacted against the morbid influence of the Western culture. His criticism is spread *passim* all over in his "Collective Works", but the underlying idea of all this is embalmed in his slim tract on "Hind Swaraj or Self Home Rule (1909)". Then the question arises : What is Gandhi's ideal of Swaraj ? He propounded an ideology as a critique of materialistic outlook of the Western people and the colonial subjection of the English People on the Indian soil and on the colonized subcontinent. Gandhi is of the view that ideal of the "*Swaraj*" will be actualized only when Indians will shed alien subjection which stealthily pierced into deep layers of our consciousness. Acculturation is good if it is congenial and wholesome for the smooth progression of the individual self and the society at large. As, for example, tyranny and injustice inflicted by the alien culture would be an encroachment upon the freedom and self-dignity of the indigenous people. If the alien ideas cast into the indigenous culture and invigorate it, it will be a welcome hybridization. If the ghost of alien dominance disappears from our consciousness, we will breathe the fresh air of *Swaraj*. It will be *Swaraj* when we become masters of our own selves (home rule or self-rule). *Swaraj* is realization of freedom and within the without. It is individualistic and collective ceaseless struggle in the existential problematic situations *(Collective Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 391)*. To borrow an expression from Tolstoy this ideology is "The Kingdom of God" which is within you. It is a transcendental idealized conceptual realm of the self where it realizes its ontic freedom. It is victory of spirituality over materiality without negating the latter.

Here Gandhi aims at revivifying India's cultural supremacy of spiritual and moral values. The blasting influence of the Western industrialization and technology alienates man from the laps of Nature, which is a living God (Truth) for him. Mega city culture dissipated the ecological equilibrium, which is a stumbling block in the path of soul's development. Oswarld Spengler in his *"The Decline of the West"* is against the trend of the mega city culture of the West. On the contrary, E.F. Schumacher like Mahatma Gandhi in the *'Small is Beautiful'* (London, Vintage, 1933) lays emphasis on twin values of freedom and dignity of labour. The *leitmotif* of the work is that capital is to serve man rather than man is to be subservient to capital. I can partially agree to the view that Western thought has influenced our outlook of lifestyle mad with love for wealth and other material comforts of life but despite all this the ultimate purpose of *dharma* as a categorical imperative (*niṣkāma karma*) remains eternal. This is the kernel principle of Indian spiritual culture, which is the *vis a tergo* of voluntaristic view of life.

It becomes necessary for me to explain threadbare the philosophical significance of the concept of *dharma* which is distinct from the Western idea of religion. It enjoins on us to make clear the intrinsic spiritual world-view (*weltanschauung*) of the Indian culture and its pristine dynamic view of life, which expounds perpetual struggle against ordeals of human conditions:

suffering, evil tyranny (*ati*) and injustice. However it will be pertinent to mention here that India's medieval cultural history breathes the spirit of world and life negations because of the Vedantic impact of *māyāvada* and the Buddhist pessimism (see, Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought And its Development*, London 1956). Buddhism and the *Gītā* were staunch advocates of voluntarism and dynamic view of life but with the passage of time a lopsided stance on internalization of the intrinsic self resulted in withdrawal from the stark realities of this-world. This ascetic and escapist attitude ushered in a static view of life. People have a sordid and pessimistic view of the world. This esoteric approach further was exploited by the priestly calls (*Brahmans*) in connivance with the lords (*Kṣatriyas*). In this Age an unrealistic and false ideology of the transcendent realm of eternal bliss of the otherworld (*svarga*) conceived as an escape mechanism. It tends to snap connection with the social life. As in pool filth, much, water, etc. are necessary conditions for bloom of the lotus ; similarly society is necessary for the development of the healthy self. And *dharma* is needed as an axiological background condition (source) of the history of collective praxis. *Dharma* with its naturalistic and normative dimensions tries to reconcile historicity and transcendence of the humankind condition.

Medieval cult of India reinterpreted religious world-view. It restored social realities and historicity of human action (*karma*). They reinterpreted the key concept *sannyāsa* (renunciation). For them it was not a withdrawal from the world (*jagat*) but from the social responsibilities. It was interpreted as a self-transcendence from the immanent world without withdrawing from responsibilities of the worldly life. Realistic attitude towards historicity makes man easy to discharge his all duties of the 'Now' through free historical actions (*karmas*). It is an axiological realization of the 'inert given of the past in the context of one's freedom and responsibility'.

Bhaktas set aside Vedic revelation (*śruti*) and depended entirely on their respective first person singular mystical experiences of the Numinous. Tamil Siddhas (AD 6-10) were basically revolutionaries and *Tāntric*. They rehabilitated rejection of *sannyāsa* in *bhoga* (household life). It was a reconciliation of *yoga* and *bhoga*. This *tāntric* tendency of the Tamil Siddhas restored social realities. They are non-dualists in their metaphysics. *Śiva* and *Śakti* are two inseparable metaphysical elements. For the Tamil Siddhas *Śiva* is a Supreme Being which is latently present in *Śakti*. It is existing in the human person as *kuṇḍalani* which is to be aroused through spiritual discipline (*sadhana*). *Śakti* is to be transformed into supreme consciousness (*Śiva*).

Tamil Siddhas introduced the metaphysical doctrine of *piṇḍa-Brahmaṇḍa* (microcosm-macrocosm) symbolizing an ontological identity. They advocated that reality *(satya)* of the self could be found out from within the human person (*piṇḍa*). It is just digging a well in which you find the same water that is available everywhere. Unlike the Vedantic they treated human body as real micro-unity. It is a boat, which helps the spiritual aspirant travel from first person perspective to the third person perspective. Purpose of human life for the Tamil Siddhas is to transcend from the attachments of *saṅsāra* and achieve ontic non-mediative absorption (*vettaveli*) with *Śiva*.

And the parallel movement of *Vaiṣṇavism* of the Alvaras also contributed a lot in the process of cultural revival of the land. They also treated human body (*śarira*) as a real unit of reality. Their major contribution is the concept of self surrender (*sarnagati*) to the Ineffable (*Summa* or *śunya*). Human person a divine gift is a temple of the transcendent Deity (*Kadavul*). Their teachings were replete with bland affirmation of social realities. Ramanuja (11th c.) spread these ideas of devotional *Bhakti* in the North. Kabir, Ravidass, Pipa, Sein and Sikh Gurus carried forward this message. In Maharaṣtrara Jñaneśvara, Namadeva, Tukarama and others are main harbingers of new spiritual message of voluntarism which was further vitrified by modern Indian thinkers like Tagore, Gandhi, Raman Maharshi, Vivekanand, Rama Krishna Parmahansa, et al.

II

The present section is a hermeneutical exposition of the religious view of the West and the East. It is an attempt to conceptualize an objective paradigm of inter-cultural, inter-personal and inter-religious understanding pertaining to human phenomenon in the context of post modern life-world-view. From the Gadamerian standpoint of philosophical hermeneutics the "fusion of two horizons" is to be accorded proper cognizance. Context, text and syntax of Dharma have under gone transformation in historical flux. It implies plurality of meanings and interpretations. Sociology of knowledge is the underlying cause of all such changes in religious phenomenon. It is therefore Dharma and religion has multichronic contexts and significances. Many old beliefs and practices have been dropped and some useful ones have been carried forward with new interpretations. As, for example, in the construction of new building some old debris and rubbles are added in the new building. Thus sociology of knowledge warrants those problems of old age change and is not repeated. All is in flux. Dogmas are like ready-made garments. The dogmas are dampers on the path of smooth development of religious belief and practices. These are life camel's frontal chains, which impede and obstruct free movement of the camel. Likewise dogmas and old word *(śabdas)* don't fit in into new ideas and concepts. This is a communication-lag in signification of the word. It is therefore dynamic idea of concepts requires continuous restructuring the words and terminology.

Western German Indologists did not delve deep into the hermeneutical interpretation and understanding the term *dharma*. They were primarily philologists and linguists and not hermeneutics or analytical philosophers of language. Heinrich Zimmer (1879) inerpreted the term *dharma* (*dhamman*) as fixed order to heaven and earth. In the ancient texts *dharma* was often read along with *ṛta* meaning 'eternal order' (see *Vedic Index*). And Macdonell interpreted *dharma* in the sense of law or custom covering both criminal and civil law and morality. In another context he maintained that *dharma* is religion and morality. Again Professor Keith takes *dharma* for custom, Law and righteous conduct (see*'History of Sanskrit Literature*, 92,450-51). Keith further reiterates: "*Dharmaśastras* deal after all with duty and morality as the basis of law (p.451). Having been bewildered with linguistic quibbling a Western Indologist Professor F. Kielhorn wrote:" I found no English word by which I can fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*" (*Epigraphia Indica*, IX, p.113, n (7)). Dr. P V Kane in his, *The History of the Dharmaśastras*, Vol.1, p. 1 also endorses that exact meaning of the term *dharma* is uncertain. From the hermeneutical standpoint the underlying meaning of the term is that what one adopts in accordance with one's inherent nature or disposition. From the philosophical stance *dharma* is an ontological basis of sentient and insentient beings. This is why the *Bṛhadaraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (1.14.14) uses *dharma* and *satya* as synonyms. It is the basis of all customs, conventions and traditions or ceremonies.

Now a question arises whether the terms *dharma* and religion are interchangeable in religious discourses. If 'Yes', then meanings and senses of both the terms are either similar or identical. Their meanings cannot be identical because both have auras of divergent cultures, which determine their senses. Behind semantic significance of the terms there is a metaphysical reality which pictures the identical essence of the facts. I am of the view that if linguistic sheath is cast off, then identical ontic unity will come up. Though both the terms are taken from different languages, yet final purpose of life is almost identical, i.e., categorical imperative or *niṣkāma karma.*

Religion comes from the term 'religio', (L), which connotes the religious deed, i.e., binding oneself back to one's original nature or goal. Similarly the Sanskrit term *'yoga'* also means yoking. And the very equivalent of religion from Sanskrit is *dharma* which is derived from the root *dhṛ* meaning 'to sustain, support, uphold'. This sense is to be extended from self to mankind. If the self attains stability (*sahaj avasthā*) through spiritual discipline, then all individuals would constitute the realized selves. And the self itself is created by *dharma*. All realized selves will be knights of *dharma* on the earth as custodians of human freedom and justice.

Dharma basis of morality is authenticated through religious sancation treasured in the scriptures. So *dharma* has descriptive (natural) and prescriptive (normative) aspects. In the *Rgveda dharma* is used as 'religious ordinance' which is very close to *ṛta*. *Ṛta* symbolizes universal harmony in which all things in the world have a proper place and function. The spirit of *dharma* is to sustain individual self and society. In this sense I take *dharma* as a source of the individual self.

Dharma taken as the synonym for religion has a much wider and distinct connotation. It is the way of living as a categorical imperative (*niṣkāma karma*) in the concrete human conditions. It is living in accordance with one's inherent nature, which is subjective and objective. It is objective because *ṛta* is all-pervasive (cosmic order) as a cardinal Being or principle for regulating human conduct. From philosophical it will be a sheer *deus ex* *machina*. In Western religions personal God is a cardinal principle where as in the Indian religious traditions both personal impersonal aspects go hand in hand but in Sikhism both personal and impersonal aspects are reconciled without suppressing either one. God as person cannot be accepted as an ontological Being in the world religious traditions. It is a linguistic construct hypostatised as *modus operandi* for transformation of individual self (ego) and sustenance of the social order. Hypostatized Deity is significant only if it is useful in creating an ideal self (*natura naturan*) in man. When we become aware of our 'epistemic limits' of human understanding, a belief in the transcendent Being is presupposed. It is a necessity of human creativity and freedom of expression for resolving the existential problems in which man has been conditioned. Thus the Numinous as a third person hypostatised beyond spatio-temporal realm is a logical presupposition in all-religious expressions for solving man's existential problems.

It follows from the above discussion that *dharma* is a harmonious living in accordance with one's own intrinsic nature in the conventional codes of social, moral religious life. All these actions are directed for the attainment of the highest state of intrinsic freedom(*moksa*), an emancipated consciousness from the temptations and attachments of mundanely. This meaning of *dharma* is from the point of view of inherent propensities and tendencies, which can be invariably applied on all the sentient and insentient beings. It implies that *dharma* as a philosophical category can be extended to created beings (cocks, cows, dogs, *et at.*) and natural objects too. Every created being has its inner nature (*dharma*) but I am concerned with man who is capable of attaining the highest state of freedom through his creative articulation. It is only at human level consciousness can be elevated to the transcendent self-consciousness. In this state the self realizes its intrinsic freedom.

If we go deeper into the lexical meaning of the term 'nature' abstracted from grammatical contexts is equivalent to *dharma*. It is inherent quality or constitution of a thing, the innate disposition or character of a person or animal or of humankind. The inherent potency or force (*śakti*) by which physical and mental activities are sustained and developed in accordance with the inner nature (see *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v.). The above discussion takes us to a logical point that in Indian tradition *dharma* is both descriptive (inherent disposition) and prescriptive (ideational). All the religions of the world are created for man and not man for religion. So man is always in the centre of all religious traditions created for solving man's existential problems.

Our argument boils down on a point that Indian religious tradition of *dharma* is a perpetual quest for deciphering mystery of man's nature as a concrete social unit in the existential condition. Our discussion on the issue clinches the argument that 'Know thy self (*atman bodhi*) is the central linchpin of Indian thought. The *ṛṣis* (seers) of the *Rgveda* have wondered at the material and natural objects but their objective of propitiation of the deified nature-gods (e.g. agni Indra, etc.) was to find out the mystery of human nature.

III

In this section I will get down to brass tacks of the philosophical analysis by raising certain cardinal issues. Is *dharma* individual self oriented ? Is *dharma* socio-centric ? Is religion 'Other' (Numinous oriented ? Logically these are three possible perspectives of *dharma* : (1) first person perspective, (2) second person perspective and (3) third person perspective. It is a logical presupposition of all possible religious and mystical experiences. I can reflect my experience from my own viewpoint not from other perspectives. Similarly other perspectives cannot peer into my experience. I experience from my standpoint and he gazes from his own perspective. It implies that religious experience is a unique and inconceivable synchronic relationship.Now it becomes self-evident that *dharma* as an epistemic category (mystic experience) is always a 'first person singular perceptive'. This is the core of all religious traditions. *Dharma* in the indian context is mainly an inward journey of the soul from first person perspective to third person perspective (Numinous). This is carried out through creative process of self-transcendence that is going beyond the dichotomy of I-and -Thou. One cannot escape easily from its fluxional nature. It is possible only through ecstasy (self-transcendence). It is in the tangle simultaneous immediacy of first person's historicity that is existentially effected.

Twin principles of freedom and self-transcendence elude scientific objectivity and historicity or temporality. Human is required to pass through multichronic social interpersonal relationship with a dialectical transcendence and disinterested involvement (*saṅnyāsa*) in this world. Temporality and historicity are basal formats of human condition. Transcendence or ecstasy from both involves man's praxis in which he is holding communicability and solidarity with others.

Then a question arises: what is the difference between personal certainty and personal singular perspective ? That is experience of every person is *sui generis*. My experience cannot be your experience. So everybody's experience is unique. Hence experience of everyone of the Numinous(Truth) is unique and singular. It is mystic experience of the Ineffable (*akatha* or *śūṅnya*). In the Sūfic terminology it is travel from *fanā* to *baqā*, an eternal life in the realm of God.

In all religions Numinous, prophet or guru, scripture and church are common four elements. In the light of these elements some philosophical questions can be raised. What is ultimate reality in *dharma* ? What is the reality of the Numinous ? What is reality of the experience of the Numinous ? How can it be communicated ? What are the criteria of communication of such an experience ? What is reality of the individual self ? How is *dharma* source of the individual self ? What is the status of the individual self?How can subjectivity and objectivity be reconciled through *dharma* ? How does man transcend causal relation and arid sands of historicity and scientism ? what is the status of man's historical action (*karma*) ? Is *dharma's* ultimate goal is categorical ?

The entire above-mentioned question has been discussed directly or indirectly. Now a question arises: why *dharma* ? It means that what is the cause of birth or origin of *dharma* or religion ? Man thinks himself imperfect. He wants to be perfect. Hence need of *dharma* or religion. In addition to it genesis of *dharma* is due to inherent tendencies of man to be happy secure and free. For these purposes he articulates means and ways in accordance with his inner nature (*dharma*). It will be pertinent to point out that everybody can't be *dhārmic*. It is only those who have inner tendency to go beyond the visible time and space. It is only the creative genius who breaks up new paths different from beaten tracks. Therefore religion of devout devotees and the genius is at different levels in the existential situations.

Dharma comes into existence to come to grips with the human conditions: suffering, evil, freedom, death, sin, etc. are eternal ordeals for man in the existential conditions. All these are manifestations of *adharma* (*dusat kṛti*). To get rid of all these dampers in the main objective of *dharma*. Man articulates certain rites, ceremonies, rituals, traditions, *et al.* as means and tools to overcome *adharma*. These *saṁskāras* should not remain at skin deep level. These are formulated as means for refining, transforming, and refashioning the self. These *saṁskāras* try to eradicate past negative disposition of the self. There is a simultaneous exposition by the intellect to the transcendent and the immanent for reconciliation of the two. It is realization of the infinitude in time in depth.

The paradox of the existential sense of historicity is to encompass the fleeting time into Eternity (*Akāla*). It is done through self-transcendence, which is a creative process of the self ever going beyond without withdrawing from the world (*jagat*). It culminates in mystic experience in which the mystic is simultaneously in Eternity and time. He is in the world but not of the world. It implies that the mystic is freed from historicity, which reduces man to a mere creature of his cultural matrix. Dominance of historicity on human consciousness erodes creativity and autonomy of man. Individual on human consciousness erodes creativity and autonomy of man. Individual self is not a mere mirror of a particular Age or Culture. His is creator of the culture through values.

It is not only sensuous sensation, which is related causally. It is only at human beings who are capable of seeing into how, what, why and when. Human beings to into depth and do not remain at the level of sheer succession or appearances. He transcends historicity and scientism. Man can seek intelligible and coherent or consistent understanding of the Infinitude.

Appearances arouse cognitive interest in man to overcome human suffering or evil (*bad*). There is an inherent desire in man to have continuity of existence. It makes him aware of human limitations. Every epistemic limit prompts man to know what lies beyond it. Transcending or going beyond is not a given fact but it is the outcome of freedom. But limits as such will not induce transcendence. It is induced by the realized self to go beyond historicity and scienticism. In the creative process of self-transcendence the seeker of truth does not snap contact with the temporal world. This is the significance of *sannyāsa* in Indian tradition. It is the limits which prompt a creative person to hypostatize a transcendent being which could act as *modus operandi* to make him eternal (*amara*). For this reason he has an impulse (will) to control and remove suffering.

Many living beings can only intelligibly anticipate and react (e.g., crow, dog, cat and others), but they lack purpose. Man while doing keeps end in view. Like other creatures man stores in his memory but he has a power of curiosity and wonder which is the root-cause of philosophical thinking. It then leads to praxis which is necessary for resolving theoretical problems. In solving the human problems there should be no missing of cognition with praxis.

In order to over come suffering one has to pass through history. Man expresses infinite suffering. A single genius soul may experience an infinite torment because of his extraordinary sense of sensibility. As *ṛsi* Bālmik expressed empathy for the cronce when he saw the female cronce in agony while gazing at the wounded bird. And Buddha's concept of *Nirvāṇa* is basically emancipation from suffering (*dukha*). Here emphasis is more on negative side or eradication of suffering. Guru Nanak, Kabir and other great humanists identified themselves with the suffering humanity. By surrendering to God man opens his heart in confession and lays it open for others too. In doing this one annihilates one's egoity (*haumai*) and becomes childlike (*balabudha*).

Then in religious discourse a question arises: How is man finite ? Man is born and is created. It is a basic presupposition of Indian religious traditions that man is both creator and creature. How can a creature be creator ? He is creature because he has been created and is creator because he is creative. Man's creativeness which is a recomprehension and reflection on all possible perspective on problem, which are confronted by human mind. In Indian religious traditions man is projected as a concrete being in whom thought and action are reconciled. It is the full self in its perfection that is the main quest in Indian though. It is realization of real self in the world (*jīvan mukta*).

It implies man is in historical time and is finite. He wants to transcend his finitude because he is inherently infinite. Man as historical agent tries to transcend through values. *Dharma* as value is a triumph of transcendence over ego's cocoonery. These values are to be realized in the temporal world without giving way to the given culture. Since he has the creative faculty, he wants to be free and infinite. Death as a *natura naturan* is a stumbling block in his way to cross over to the infinite life. It is the most horrible phenomenon for man, which curves his freedom. Man wants that the river of his life must flow through him without meddling by Death. He wants to live on after Death. He aspires that he should live in the flesh and blood spiritually as a whole man. There is a universal yearning for immortality of the self in the Platonic manner. Miguel de Unamuno in, *The Tragic Sense of Life*, places man in the existential conflict between asserting heart and dry reason with a strong passion for continuity of the self.

It is thus duty (*dharma*) of everyone to discharge his duties because it is in consonance with his inner intrinsic nature. The *Gitā* also advocates doing one's own duties (*svadharma*) (III-33, 35). Righteous deed (*śubha karma*) pictures one's real self. Here I don't mean that *dharma* is to dischrage duties on ones *varṇa* but to discharge duties in accordance with one's inner sense of conscience. One develops one's self from imperfection to the highest state of perfection. The self is capable of discharging moral duties as a categorical imperative (*niṣkāma karma*). Guru Gobind Singh, tenth mentor of the Sikhs, epitomized this concept as :

> "Grant me such a boon, O Almighty Śiva,
> As I may never deter from righteous deeds, ..."
>
> *"Deha śiva baru mohi ihai śubha karman te kabahum naṭaroṃ"*
>
> [*Śabadārtha Dasam Granth, pothi-I,* (223), p. 127]

At the end I would say that *dharma* is the true picture of the individual's real self which is fount of voluntary actions.

पुस्तकालय
128000
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

A REVIEW OF THE DEOGARH NARANĀRĀYANA PANEL

D. C. Bhattacharyya

One of the sculptured panels on the exterior walls of the celebrated Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh has almost invariably been taken by scholars as a representation of Naranārāyaṇa[1]. The earlier identification of the panel as a representation of Jñana- and Yoga-Dakṣiṇamūrti of Śiva, suggested by Gopinath Rao[2], has since been rejected and the panel has been accepted by scholars as a visual rendering of the description of Naranārāyaṇa found in *Viṣṇudharmottara* III.76[3]. According to Sivaramamurti, it is not only a representation of Naranarāyaṇa, as described in the *Vdh.*, but also of the birth of Urvaśī[4]. The latter suggestion of Sivaramamurti is possibly based on the tiny overhead female figure between the so-called Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He identifies this figure as that of the celestial nymph, Urvaśī. The panel is thus, according to Sivaramamurti, a"striking example of harmony, meticulous in every detail, as given in the text of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*" ; but, at the same time, he is aware of the fact that III.35 of the same text, dealing with the incident leading to the birth of Urvaśi, clearly states that it was the sage Narāyaṇa (*nārāyaṇena munina*), and not the Nara and Nārayaṇa pair, who was responsible for the birth of the nymph. Whether there exists a relationship between the Deogarh panel and the episode of the birth of Urvaśi will have to remain an open question until we are able to reconcile the two accounts in *Vdh.*III.35 and 76, and to establish their correspondence to the details of the sculptured panel.

In identifying this panel, the *Vdh.* description of Naranārāyaṇa is invariably referred to as the textual basis[5]. But does the panel fully answer the description given in *Vdh.* III 76 ? In other words, what is the nature of the correspondence between this textual description and the sculptural rendering on the Deogarh panel ? According to the text, both Nara and Narayaṇa should be seated, with a Badari tree fully laden with fruits *(tayor madhye ca badarī kārya phalavidhūsaṇā)* between them, and they should wear the black antelope skin and have matted hair *(Kṛṣṇājinadharau dāntau jaṭāmaṇḍaladhāriṇau)*. Nara should be two-handed and Nārayaṇa four-handed, both holding the rosary *(akṣamālādharāv ubhau)* as an attribute.

To these aspects of the textual description, the Deogarh panel offers a striking correspondence. But a few important descriptive details are missing in the sculpture ; and, conversely, the panel contains some visual elements not covered by the text. The basic discrepancy between the text and its so-called illustration lies in the fact that the Nara and Nārāyaṇa of the Deogarh panel are not shown, as they should be according to the *Vdh.* description, seated on this vehicle with eight wheels *(aṣṭacakra sthitau yāne).* That this vehicle was supposed to be a chariot is known from the description, in the same text, of the sitting posture of Nara: *pādena caikena rathasthitena pādena caikena ca jānugatena-* that is, Nara[6] should be seated on a chariot with one foot on the chariot and the other one placed on the knee. The figures in the Deogarh panel are not seated on a chariot with eight wheels *(aṣṭacakra)*, nor is the sitting posture of Nara an exact rendering of the textual prescription. Neither of the figures is shown with one foot placed on the knee[7]. Moreover, it should be noted that many other figures, including the tiny female figure above Nara and Nārayaṇa and some of the details, which are seen in the Deogarh panel, find no mention in the *Vdh.* description.

What has been stated above cannot, however, be construed as a challenge to the identification of the Deogarh panel as a representation of Naranarāyaṇa, or as a denial of the dependence of the panel on the *Vdh.* description - or vice varsa[8]. It has to be kept in mind that the artist is not obliged to follow his textual source verbatim; and similarly, the text is not always supposed to be a literal transcription of a visual document. The artist as well as the author of the text can have more than one source to go by, and omissions and commissions are not rare phenomena in Indian iconography. But that the *Vdh.* describes Naranārāyaṇa as seated on a chariot is not so insignificant a point as to be allowed to pass without notice, although no scholar, surprisingly, has as yet tried to explain the relevance of this important piece of information in the context of Naranārayaṇa.

The *Vdh.* description is not the only one so far known concerning Naranārayaṇa, although scholars invariably fall back upon this account. The *Skandapurāṇa* contains two interesting versions of the origin of Nara and Narāyaṇa. Version I: As penance for the offence of cutting off the fifth head of Brahma, Śiva had to go as a mendicant with the skull of Brahmā *(brahmakapala)* as a begging-bowl in his hand. Into this, Viṣṇu gave as alms the blood from his right hand. Śiva frowned at this, and out of the contents of the bowl emerged a human *(nara)* form. Śiva ordained that this Nara would always remain associated with Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu for the protection and welfare of the gods and that he would be known as Naranārāyaṇa, that is Nārayaṇa, in the human (nara) form[9]. Version II : Nara and Nārayaṇa, who are God incarnate *(naranārāyaṇa sākṣād bhagavān eva kevalam)*, were born of Dharma and his wife, Mūrti; they devoted themselves to great austerities *(tapomūrti iva sthitau)*[10]. About this Nara form of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, the *Skandapurāṇa* further states that the Lord (Nārāyaṇa), in human form *(nararūpeṇa)*, resides on Mount Meru, that he holds the bow and arrow, is beautiful, and is the equal of fire in ascetic power *(bhagavān api tatraiva nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhati, dhanurbāṇadharaḥ śrīmāṃa tapasā pāvako samaḥ)*[11].

Thus, according to both these versions, Nara and Nārayaṇa are two personages, one complementary to the other. It is to be noted that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* mentions Nara and Nārāyaṇa in the list of the incarnations of Viṣṇu[12]. The *Sāttavatasaṃhitā* and the *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* also include Nara and Nārāyaṇa in similar lists.[13]

Of the Naranārāyaṇa pair, Nara is the human form *(nararūpeṇa)* of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. Interestingly, in the *Vdh.*, the human form is referred to as Hari, the divine or Nārāyaṇa form as Kṛṣṇa. Thus it seems that in the *Vdh.*, the term Naranārāyaṇa refers to the pair as constituting the divine and human aspects of the same god, Nārāyaṇa or Kṛṣṇa. The human form of Kṛṣṇa is none other than Arjuna, the Paṇḍava hero of the *Mahābhārata*[14]. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, this relationship is clearly established in the statement of Kṛṣṇa that he is the same as Dhanañjaya- that is, Arjuna *(pāṇḍavānāṃ dhanañjayaḥ)*[15]. It seems that there emerged a cult of considerable importance centred on Arjuna. The Ārjunīyas mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as an important tribe vanquished by the Gupta ruler Samudragupta[16] might have been the devotees of this Pāṇḍava hero. But the cult of Arjuna seems to have been intimately related to the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as is gleaned not only from the above-mentioned statement of Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā*, but also from the expression *vāsudevārjunābhyaṃ vuñ*, in the work of Pāṇini[17]. In the *Viṣvaksenasaṃhitā*, Arjuna is referred to as one of the *gauṇa* (secondary) incarnations of Viṣṇu[18]. The concept of Naranārāyaṇa seems thus to have been a component in the composite cult of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva-Arjuna, which apparently enjoyed a certain popularity at some stage.

As mentioned above, the *Vdh.* describes Nara and Nārayaṇa as sitting together under a Badari tree, and as seated on a vehicle (Chariot: *ratha*, III.76.5a); with eight wheels *(aṣṭacakre sthitau yane* III.76 4a); Hari (Nara), moreover, is stated to be seated in the royal pose *(narendratulyaḥ)*[19] with one foot placed on the chariot and the other gathered in upon the knee. Kṛṣṇa is supposed to be in the form of the god Nārayaṇa *(nārāyaṇatulyamūrtiḥ)*. This is virtually the description of Arjuna (Hari) seated in royal pose[20] on a chariot in the company of Kṛṣṇa as the god Nārayaṇa incarnate. It suggests a picture of Kṛṣṇa imparting to Arjuna the celebrated message of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is not too unlikely, therefore, that the *Vdh.* account of Naranārāyaṇa is , in a way, the description of the chariot scene figuring Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna when the *Gītā*-teaching was being pronounced.

The *Vdh.* account ascribes both to Nara and Nārāyaṇa ascetic attributes such as the black antelope skin (*kṛṣṇājina*), matted hair (*jaṭāmaṇḍala*) and rosary (*akṣamālā*). These characteristics, also present in the Deogarh panel of Naranārāyaṇa, are in no way inappropriate in the iconography of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in their roles of giver and receiver respectively of the message of the *Bhagavadagītā*, which is characterised as an *Upaniṣad* concerned with *Brahmavidyā* and *Yogaśāstra*[21]. Both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna are *brahmavādins* and *yogins* in their own way. That is why they could be the teacher and the taught of the *Bhagavadagītā*. The composer of the *Vdh.* account and the sculptor of the Deogarh panel seem to have given expression to this idea[22]. In this connection, it has to be pointed out that the composer of the text and the sculptor of the panel seem to have made a distinction between these two *brahmavādins* and *yogins* by describing Nara or Arjuna as royal in bearing *(narendratulyaḥ)* with an appropriate sitting posture, and by depicting a lion on the front of his seat, clearly expressing the idea of a royal seat *(siṃhāsana)*.

If the above speculative interpretation has any merit, the *Vdh.* account of Naranārāyaṇa should be taken as a description of the famous chariot scene with the theme of Kṛṣṇa's pronouncement of the message of the *Bhagavadagita* to Arjuna. Consequently, the Deogarh panel would be the sole example in sculpture of this chariot-motif from the *Bhagavadagītā* so far known, apart from the so-called *Viśvarupa* scenes which are quite common. In this connection, it is tempting to suggest that the tiny female figure above Nara and Narayaṇa in the Deogarh panel, which Sivaramamurti identified as Ūrvaśi, could be the Gītā herself in personified form. The relevance of such a rendering to the theme of the imparting (or release) of the message of the *Bhagavadagītā*, the compendium of *brahmavidyā*, can hardly be disputed. The personification of a philosophical text as a female form is not unknown in Indian iconography. The celebrated Buddhist text, *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñaparamitā*, was frequently shown as a female figure representing dharma in the Buddhist trinity at first, and later as the goddess *Prajñapāramitā*[23]. Before concluding, it is necessary to bring in once again the question of the exact nature of the correspondence between the Deogarh panel and *Vdh*.III.76, which has mostly been taken to be an account of Naranārāyaṇa. This chapter of the *Vdh.* is an account not only of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, but also of Hari and Kṛṣṇa. In other words, the description pertains not merely to the two- Nara and Nārāyaṇa- but is an account of the four - Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. This is clear from a careful reading of the opening verse and the colophon statement to this chapter[24]. According to the *Mahābhārata*: " Narayaṇa took birth as the progeny of Dharma in a quadruple form- as Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. Out of these, Nara and Nārāyaṇa practised severe austerities at their *āśrama* at Badari"[25]. The composer of the *Vdh.* seems to have given a consolidated account of these four, but mixing their identities. He has not stated clearly the iconographic characteristics distinctive to each of these four figures. But the sculptor of the Deogarh panel, although drawing his basic information from the *Vdh.* account, seems to have applied some interpretative analysis while representing the tetrad of Nara, Narayaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. He represented Kṛṣṇa and Hari (or Arjuna) as the central figures in the roles respectively of the teacher and the taught of the *Yogaśastra* and *brahmavidyā* contained in the *Bhagvadgita*. These two central figures are flanked by two sage-like personage[26] who seem to be the sculptor's interpretation of Nara and Narayaṇa, the remaining pair of the tetrad, who are known to have practised severe austerities, as mentioned above. The reading of the Deogarh panel as the representation of the quadruple form of Narayaṇa, and its relationship to the chariot motif figuring Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, as in the *Bhagavadgīta* episode, are in the context of the *Vdh.*, account and other relevant literary notices, possibilities we should not, perhaps, ignore.

References :

1. This identification was first suggested by D.R. Sahni in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* 1917-18, p.8. This been accepted by almost all leading scholars, Such as J.N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta 1956, pp.426, 470 ; Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi 1973, pp. 145ff.; C. Sivaramamurti,*ChitrasūtraoftheVishṇudharmottara*, New Delhi 1978, p.31; Joanna Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, New Delhi 1983, pp.134-135.
2. Gopinath Rao, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p.273, pl. LXXI.
3. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p.31; Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 145ff.
4. Sivaramamurti, *ibid.*
5. Reference as given in Note 1 above.
6. In translating this part of *Vdh.*III 76, scholars have taken this sitting posture to be applicable both to Nara and Narayaṇa. See for example the translation of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* Part III) by Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta 1928, p. 101, or the gist of the chapter given in English by Priyabala Shah in her *Viṣṇudharmottara-Puraṇa* (Third Khaṇḍa), Vol. II, Baroda 1961, p.161. Even Sivaramamurti (*op. cit.*, p.31) follows them in this respect. But from the context, it is clear that this sitting posture is relevant to the iconography only of Nara. This point is discussed in detail in my *Pratimalakṣana* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Delhi, 1991.

7. In the panel, both figures have one foot hanging down, the other placed on the seat.

8. Textual description based on an artistic expression of an iconic motif is not an unknown phenomenon. I have discussed this point in my paper entitled "An Iconic Motif: Perspective and Retrospective", presented at the International Seminar held at Lucknow University in 1982. The paper is due for publication soon.

9. *Skandapuraṇa, Āvantyakhaṇḍa, Avantikṣetramāhatmya,* Chapter 3.

10. *Ibid., Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, Badarikamāhātmya,* Chapter 7, verses 60-61.

11. *Ibid.*, Chapter 8, verse 19.

12. *Bhāgvatapurāṇa* I.3, 6-22.

13. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp.391ff.

14. Desai, *op. cit.*, p.2; Williams, op. cit., p.141.

15. *Bhagavadgitā* 10.37.

16. There is numismatic evidence to prove that the Arjunāyanas were an important tribe even during the pre-Christian era. See Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p.109.

17. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭadhyayi*,4.3.98.

18. Banerjea, *op.cit.*, p.398.

19. This reading is found in Ms. A of the text and in more suited (than Shah's proposed reading, *nareṇa tulyaḥ*, III.76, 5c) to the royal type of sitting posture ascribed to Hari (Nara). In this connection, it is interesting to note that Kṛṣṇa identifies himself as the king among men *(narāṇaṃ ca narādhipam)* in *Bhagavadagita* 10.27.

20. It is interesting to note that, according to the *Gitā* Narrative, at the time when the teaching was to be vouchsafed to him, Arjuna was sitting on the chariot in a deeply sorrowful and dejected mood ; *evam uktvārjunaḥ a sāhkhye rathopastha upāviśat/ visṛjya saśaram cāpam sokasamyijñamanasah// BhG.* 1.47. It seems that Aujuna gradually came back to his royal

demeanour and played effectively the role of interlocutor.

21. Each chapter of the *Bhagavadgita* has the following expression in the colophon statement: *śrimadbhagavadgītāsu upanisatṣu brahmavidyāyām yogaśastre Śrikrṣṇarjunasaṃvāde...etc.*

22. The ascetic and contemplative bearing of the two central figures of the Deogarh panel led Rao, *op. cit.* p.273, to suggest their identification as the *jñana* and *Yoga*-Dakṣiṇāmurti of Śiva. It is to be noted in this connection, that in the *Bhagavadagita* (7.9), Kṛṣṇa describes himself as the embodiment of ascetic contemplation *(tapaś cāsmitapasviṣu)*. The Deogarh panel seems to be an expression of this concept through the plastic medium.

23. D.C. Bhattacharyya, Studies in Buddhist Iconography, New Delhi, 1978, pp.29-30.

24. The first verse of *Vdh.* III.76 is as follows:

    Naranārāyaṇa kāryau kena rūpena saṃyutau /
    hariḥ kṛṣṇas ca kartavyaḥ kathaṃ vā bhrgunandana //

    It seems that Vajra asks for the description of the iconography not only of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, but also of Hari and Kṛṣṇa. The use of the particle *Vā* is indicative of this. Moreover, the title of the chapter concerned is given, in the colophon, as: naranārāyaṇa (hari) kṛṣṇarūpanirmaṇam, the portion within backets being, however, the emendation of P. Shah. It seems that it is the description of either (1) the four- Nara, Narayaṇa, Hari, Kṛṣṇa- or (2) the first two, who are the alternatives (*Va*) to, or the same as, the other two.

25. Desai, *op. cit.*, p.2.

26. Surprisingly, none of the scholars who have studied the Deogarh panel has taken any notice of these two figures. One can, however, argue that these ascetic figures have been represented only to indicate the locale of the incident as a hermitage (*tapavana*). But it would not sound too convincing. The two ascetic figures

have been given considerable importance in the panel. Each of them is shown with distinctive iconographic features in respect of the attributes in the hands, standing postures, and in that one of the figures sports a beard. The figure obviously have someting to do with the theme of the panel. In this connection, it has been pointed out that the only other sculptural representation of the Naranārayaṇa theme, the one from Nagari, belonging approximately to the same period as the Deogarh panel, is noticed on a lintel depicting this theme. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 140ff and plate 216.

ART IN TAOISM, BUDDHISM IN GENERAL AND ZEN

Lokesh Chandra

Simple, delicate, diaphanous, serene, full of deep reserve and subtle profundity the art of China and Japan has a naturalness that is an exposure of the 'mind ground'. The elemental nature of the Chinese language, free of inflectional complexities, has given rise to the unity of a simple order that retains this unity at the highest level in the language of silence or in the idiom of non-expression. I am reminded of a Japanese verse:

How could the dust
Of the mind be scattered here ?

It is a transformation of the very intrinsic substance that awakens the viewer to his lack of Awakening. It is not the outward appearance (*hsing*) as such, but the idea in the mind of the artist. The natural forms reveal the immanent divine (*shen*) or the essence of life (*ch'i*). The Chieh Tzu Yüan says "when painting has reached divinity (*shên*) there is the end of the matter". The Chinese painter Wu Tao-tzū painted a glorious landscape, with mountains, forests, clouds, birds, men and all else in nature, on the wall of a palace. The painter invited his patron the Emperor to enter a doorway and behold the marvels within. The painter entered first, beckoning the Emperor to follow. The door closed and the painter was never seen again. When perfection has been attained the work of art disappears. A twelfth-century Chinese art-critic says that he would commit to brush work the gallant splendor of the stride of a horse, a bull or a tiger, but not tether them by the foot. The great Zen master Dogen is explicit that the scripture of Zen "is written with the characters of heaven, of man, of beasts, of demons, of hundreds of blades of grass, and of thousands of trees". Dugō says that "every flower exhibits the image of Buddha". In Persian the word *But* meaning 'image' is derived from the term Buddha 'The Enlightened One'.

Chinese art came to Europe in the 17th century as porcelain. These objects profoundly influenced European arts and crafts and this trend of exoticism become a vogue of *chinoiserie* that dominated the applied arts of the West. The construction of the Chinese railway system brought to light an abundance of mortuary ceramics and tomb figures. It introduced a change in the critical conoisseurship and in the methods of historical research. The century gone by has seen the inclusion of all the fields and periods of Chinese arts and crafts in global scholarship. The discoveries of murals, texts and documents at Tun-huang has opened up new vistas of chronology and of comprehension of Chinese art.

The discovery of Neolithic culture, known as Yang-shao culture, or Red Pottery Culture in Honan and Kansu has revealed a remarkably high technical level of pottery duing 3000-2200 BC. The Neolithic crafts are represented by three great northern cultures, characterized by the red, the black and the gray pottery. These developed into Shang culture which is the beginning of the Chinese historical period.

The Shang-Yin period (1558? - 1028? BC) has bequeathed oracle-bone inscriptions with archaic form of Chinese writing. Shang bronzes used for ritual purposes with decorative motifs and with inscriptions show stylistic evolution. The decorations include geometric motifs, beautiful 'thunder pattern' as background, stylistic mutations of an animal, forerunner of the Chinese dragon, so popular in later periods. The decorative repertory of the bronzes is inspired by mythical and real animals. The best preserved sculptures from royal tombs on the Northwest Hill at Hou-chia-huang are well-developed and show superior modeling. Shang sculpture appeared like a comet of intense splendour and disappeared, swallowed up in darkness. Jade work was an equally flourishing art. Jade was prized for its magical properties: such as the ability to prevent the decomposition of corpses. Jade objects became important as tomb ornaments.

The Chou period (1027? - 221? BC) has been idealized by Chinese philosophers as the embodiment of their ideals. It is the "Classical Age" of China with an exceptionally developed cultural life. Bronze vessels of this period show a transition from Shang models to a conscious change that gave them an entirely new form. The influence of the nomadic art of the steppes and Siberian styles on late Chou bronzes is interesting. Mirrors have a special importance in the bronze work of the Chou. In the Chou period human sacrifice at funerals was replaced by funerary sculpture. In this period, chariots and horses were buried, without the drivers. Confucius approved straw dummies at funerals. Kneeling b-onze figures come from the tombs. The oldest known Chinese painting from the late Chou period is the fragment of a silk painting representing a female.

From objects we move on to texts. The earliest reference to painting is in the Analects of Confucius (551-479 BC.). Confucius refers to the application of white powder (*su*) in the painting of a lady's face as well as in the art of painting. In China, white was applied to give a softened tone overlaying the brush-strokes, especially in depicting mists. In the fourth century BC, Chuang-tse (ca. 314-275 BC) speaks of the "unbuttoned mood". He was a well-known Taoist philosopher and great prose writer. Unbuttoned describes the untrammeled mood of an artist at work. King Yuan of Sung had a painting session. An artist sauntered in late, stripped off his gown and sat bare-bodied. When informed, the King said : "There's a true painter". In the third century BC, Han Fei was a well-known philosopher of the Legalist school. He said that "it is easy to paint ghosts than dogs and horses. One recognizes dogs and horses for one sees them. Nobody has seen ghosts and therefore it is easy". In the third century AD, the great poet Ts'ao Chih (flourished AD 227) speaks of inspiring portraits that serve to teach. He says : "People who look at the paintings are inspired by a feeling of worship when seeing portraits of the ancient rulers; but profoundly saddened when they see those of tyrants". Ku K'ai-chih (ca. AD 345-411) is the first painter whose work has survived to this day. He has written notes for a landscape. A professional artist himself, he is known for his "three incomparables": incomparable in painting, in genius and in stupidity. Once he entrusted a box of his works to a great collector. The collector opened the box from the back, stole some works and declared that he had never opened the seal. Ku said : "These works are so gifted with life they must have become spirits and flown away". In the fifth century, Tsung Ping (AD 375-443) has written on the enjoyment of landscape painting : "I sit alone looking at a painting.... I roam and wander in the solitary wilds of nature. There the mountain peaks soar aloft and the clouds and forests spread deep and far away. The sages and wise men are reflected from ages long ago, and all the interesting aspects of this life are absorbed into the mind". Alongwith the development of landscape, arose art citicism, and an awakening of aesthetic consciousness during the fourth and fifth centuries. Wang Hsi-chih (321-379) was the Prince of Calligraphists, Shen Yiieh (441-513) established the form of the 'T'ang poem', Chung Yung (early 6th century) formulated the criteria of appreciating poetry, and Hsieh Ho (fl.

490) established the 'Six Aspects' of painting. They have remained the criteria for Chinese art criticism to the present. It is the most influential paragraph ever written. "Few there are who can master all the six technical factors, but from ancient times till now, there have been artists who are good in some one aspect... What are these six techniques ?

First, creating a lifelike tone and atmosphere

Second, building structure through brush-work

Third, depicting the forms of things as they are

Fourth, appropriate colouring

Fifth, composition, and

Sixth, transcribing and copying.

It is said that [art] came from the immortals. But nobody has seen them".

Taki Seiichi (Kokka no.244) has translated the Six as follows:

1. Spiritual tone and line movement
2. Manner of brush work in drawing lines
3. Form in its relation to objects
4. Choice of colours appropriate to the objects
5. Composition and grouping
6. The copying of classic models

The first aspect of tone and atmosphere has been regarded in China as the prime object of art. It is the main goal of painting. It consists of two bisyllabic words. *Chi'-yün sheng-tung* 'atmosphere alive or lifelike'. It has been translated in many ways :

Resonance of the spirit ; Movement of life (Osvald Siren)

Rhythmic vitality (H.A. Giles)

Spiritual Element ; Life's motion (Friedrich Huth)

Rhythmic Vitality, or Spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life (Laurence Binyon).

It means a vital tone and atmosphere, that is moving and alive. This tone. rather than verisimilitude, is the goal of a painting. The word *fa* has been translated as 'methods', 'principles', 'laws', or 'canons'. The six *fa* are six technical aspects of painting.

The first aspect is of metaphysical importance, as it controls all others. The second, rendering of the 'bones' (essential structure) by the brush, demands a rendering of the essence rather than of mere outward aspect. The fifth refers to the appropriate placing of things represented, according to their natural relationships, and must be distinguished from composition in the modern sense. Literally, the Chinese means 'design due-placing'. The sixth is the copying of ancient masterpieces and adhering to rules. A condition of spontaneity can be reconciled with a perfected visual habit.

In the Kāmasūtra of Sanskrit too, there are six elements in painting :

1. *Rupabheda*– visual and mental forms: to distinguish between forms instinct with life and beauty and those without. The inner light sees the forms. It is the analysis and synthesis of forms.

2. *Pramāṇa*– proportion, measure, distance, structural perspective in the correctness of perception. The mind measures the limited with the unlimited.

3. *Bhāva*– idea, sentiment, emotion, intention. It is a turn of our mind caused by perceiving the inner significance. It is the breeze blowing on a vast sheet of water which dynamizes it.

4. *Lāvaṇya-yojana*– infusion of grace and artistic quality.

5. *Sādṛishya*– similitude, equality of forms and ideas.

6. *Vārṇika-bhaṅga*– delineation with brush and pigment. The precise knowledge of pigments, colour mixtures and expertise in brush work. The modulations of colours by our mental states to allow the tone and tint of our mind to infuse with the colours.

These Indian canons are echoed and re-echoed by Chinese painters who must have known the Indian concepts through their contacts with Indian monks in China or through the Iranian kingdom of Khotan, the repository of Sanskrit learning, art and manuscripts. The first painting of a Thousand-armed Kuan-yin presented to the T'ang Emperor in AD 618-626 was by an Indian monk. A painted scroll from Tun-huang says that it was done at

Khotan. By contact with Buddhism Chinese painting came out of its funerary origins to tranquil and deep water, to streams the blood veins of a mountain, to delicacy of clouds, to rocky formations as 'bones' of the universe, in short to nature with its live moments. In India, the divine and the human were one, dissolving into the ripples of the mind.

Calligraphy as an art– The Chinese have considered calligraphy as the essence of pictorial art. They looked upon painters as artisans, while calligraphers were true aritsts, until about the fifth century. The subtle beauty lies in the abstract line of the Chinese ideogram and the dynamic rhythm of its richly modulated strokes. Calligraphy is highly esteemed in Japan. The Government organizes an annual national calligraphic exhibition. Calligraphy was regarded as a higher artistic expression than painting for a Confucian gentlemen. Theorists of calligraphy stress the state of mind as a prerequisite to calligraphic creation. One of the most famous calligraphers of all time, Wang Hsi-chih (AD 321-379) says that it is possible to write characters "like dragons soaring into the sky and like tigers pacing the mountains" in a contemplative state of mind. Ts'ai Yung a poet of the second century has said: "If you want to write you first have to drive all sad ideas out of your head; you have to be in high spirits and at ease. Before starting to write, you will first have to meditate for a certain time". Calligraphy celebrates the transcendence of speech to written symbol. In the ninth century, a calligraphic canon was composed at Baghdad by Ustad Ahwal of Seistan, a region that had been Buddhist only a century ago. In Buddhism, deities could be calligraphed as symbolic syllables. Was it a precedent to Arabic calligraphy in its an-iconic aesthetics. In China, ink, inkstone, brush and paper were the four treasures of calligraphy. Calligraphy echoes the roots of China's great civilisational development in her ideogram.

Confucianism and art– Only one passage in the Analects of Confucius 3.8 refers to painting: "The business of painting follows the preparation of the plain ground". This was generalized to mean that painting follows simplicity. The Confucian involvement in the arts was their inclusion in an educational curriculum for the gentleman, including the Six Arts, In which *li* 'ritual and mores' was the first. All the applied arts that served ritual were brought into the Confucian sphere. It helped to establish an atmosphere of aesthetic sensitivity and a tradition of art appreciation.

An orthodox Confucianist of Western Hun, Liu Hsiang (ca. 77-6 BC) inscribed the following verse on an incense-burner :

> Admirable, this perfect incense vessel,
> Building up precipitously like a mountain;
> ...
> Elegant artistry perfected its four sides,
> Its top connects with the azure sky.

The basic unity of Confucian ethics and aesthetics asserts itself in objects that carry an ethical message. A painting by poet Chang Hêng (AD 77-138) is based on the symbolism of the Book of Changes, according to which heaven is round and the earth is square :

> I selected this bamboo to make a fan out of it.
> Then I painted on it a pictutre full of symbolic values.
> I circled the above and squared the below,
> Harmonizing the dazzling colours to show the multitude of things.

The connection between painting and poetry led to the acceptance of painting as an integral part of cultivated life. The second tendency that led to it was to paint the concepts of the Book of Changes. Wang Wei the Elder (415-443) emancipated this art from its craft status by dignifying it with the concept of change or transformation, the *i* of *I*-ching : "The spirits of mountain and lake communicate in order to bring about transformation and to create the myriad of things". Painting was accorded a new and higher status in Confucian thinking in early Sung times. Painting was elevated above mere formal accomplishment by the great poet-painter Su Shih by coining the term *shih-ta-fu* painting, translated "literati" painting. In the late 16th century this term was modified to "the painting of cultivated personalities' (wêrn-jen) by Mo Shih-lung and Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636). The Confucianists had to live with the dilemma that their art derived its basic inspiration from Taoist and Zen-Buddhist concepts.

Taoism and art– The trend of Taoist thought has affected the artistic civilization of China more strongly than Confucianism. Its perceptions are purely philosophical, even though the term *Tao* means a road or a way, like the Buddhist *yāna in Mahā-yāna*. It was used for major imperial highways that led to the metropolis or that connected major cities. From this basic meaning, it became the sense of guidance, security that comes from riding on a well-laid-out road, the connotation of direction, the way that led to a goal or aim, and finally commonly accepted conduct. The Taoist idiom abounds in images, mythological elements, natural reality, and it is enriched by historical or semi-historical deified figures.

The central idea of Taoism is the harmony of man and the cosmos, to be effected by an integration with nature. It gave rise to Chinese landscape painting and stimulated reflection on the creative art and the aesthetic value of the product of the artist. Commentaries on the I-ching or Book of Changes refer to the *tao* of man, the *tao* of heaven and the *tao* of earth. *Tao* is beyond the grasp of the conscious human mind. It is to be intuited rather than understood. It transcends the rational and the pragmatic. In it the temporal loses substance, and mystical relationships give meaning and coherence to life. It is an existence of sheer being. It fostered an intense nature-consciousness. Its highest expression in landscape painting was mountain landscape. Landscape art is descriptively called *shan-shui* 'mountains and water' in Chinese. In the representation of mountains and streams the opposites complete each other. It is a manifestation of activity in the midst of quiet. The Tao is never static : it is expressed in the eternal flow of being and becoming. Forms appear and disappear in water, in clouds, and in the mists. The Tao does not create, but there is nothing which is not created. It inspires a unique inner dynamism.

Besides mountains and water, the third indispensable element to the representation of landscape is the tree. The tree most fovoured is the pine : its straight trunk, with knotty and twisting branches. It personified the wise man who buffeted by the winds of misfortune remained steadfast in his profound faith in Confucian virtues. An entire branch of painting is devoted to the bamboo. It is a symbol of lasting friendship and of the gentleman (*chu-jên*) who bows before the tempest but rises again when it has subsided. "The three friends of the cold season" were the pine, the bamboo and the plum: the herald of spring . Rocks, flowers and shrubs were quiet in the midst of activity. Waterfalls and gorges were chosen to evoke the awesome and more violent aspects of nature. The exaltation of pure landscape is characteristic of Chinese painting, as opposed to Western painting where it furnishes a background for human activity. In Chinese painting, man is subordinate to the immensity of nature. In the Sung and Ming periods, artists depict a tiny hut with one or two sages lost in contemplation of the infinity and beauty of the landscape. It is an identification with the landscape, to become one with the Tao. Chinese sources speak of great painters who spent years in the mountains, immersed in the spectacle of nature and searching for its essence. Chinese artists captured the vision and immediately reproduced it in their mastery of the brush without preparatory sketches. They rarely painted from life, but instead created ideal landscapes, expressions of a cultural ideal. The first principle of the great fifth century critic Hsieh Ho is the consonance of the spirit and dynamism of life: genuine inspiration and a profound ability to bring it to life. The earliest fourth century landscape paintings are in cave 110 of Tun-huang as part of a jātaka scene. The development of landscape art has continued un-interrupted to this day. The most eminent painter of the Northern Sung dynasty was Kuo Hsi whose famous treatise on landscape painting is *Lin-ch' üan kao-chih* 'The Great Message of Forests and Streams'. His concepts of landscape and their transmutation into painting arise from a profound comprehension of nature and its subtler aspects beyond external appearance.

Insight into the creative force of the Tao made use of the concept of *ch'i*, that designated breath, then vapour in the breath, and finally the life-giving force of the breathing cycle and its rhythm. It was the vital energy, derived from the energetics of humans. It was extended to encompass the energetics of the spiritual and the artistically creative field. The mood content of a landscape could be grasped at a given season. Individual creativity and the atmospheric content of creation were consummated in a landscape painting. Taoist concepts were indispensable for understanding the nature of artistic creativity, of artistic expression and of art evaluation. Tung-ping (375-443), doctrinally a Buddhist, starts his essay on landscape painting with the statement that only one who embraces the Tao can respond harmoniously to nature. He and the Confucian painter-poet Wang Wei the Elder (415-443) use Taoist terminology and have been influential over the centuries. Taoism was a powerful determinant of the Confucian cultivated personality, when artistic expressions of poetry, calligraphy and painting became the essential component of liberal Confucian education. Among the great painters of the Ch'ing period (1644-1912) both the craft and its object were transcended by the transformative power of the artist. In his theory of creativity, Wang Shih-chên (1634-1711) illumined anew the significance of spontaneity and of absorption in a frozen moment of nature or of history.

The Taoist pantheon of deities, spirits, ghosts, demons and immortals replaced the prevalence of fantastic animals of the earlier period. Lao-tzu himself had an honoured place. A sprinkling of goddesses and fairies added charm to the divine assembly. Among them, Hsi- wang-mu 'Queen Mother of the West' became the object of important cults. The fairy Ma Ku, whose mountain in Kiangsi province produces a sweet and intoxication wine, gradually developed into a tutelary goddess of seafarers. The Taoist pantheon was invoked for all aspects of social life. All cities were protected by gods of the walls and moats. Famous generals of the past, such as Kuan-yü and Yüeh Fei, were revered as gods of war on a national scale. Taoism with its theogonic wealth, colour and festivals, became a rich source of inspiration for the pictorial arts. The search for immortality led to mystical descriptions of spiritual journeys beyond the trammels of the secular world: they found shape in paintings, sculptures and miniature landscapes full of plasticity and colour.

The most widely used handbook of Chinese painting is the *Chieh Tzū Yüan Hua Chuan* or 'Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting'. It received its name from the home of the publisher of the work. It was done by three painters who were brothers, in Nanking in the 17th century. The mustard seed occurs as a Buddhist parable. It sums up the standards established in the glorious periods of painting, by detailing the principles and basic steps of techniques. It aims at developing the painter's spiritual resources (*ch'i*) to express the Spirit (*Ch'i*), the Breath of the Tao. *Ch'i* was essentially undefinable, and perceptible only when one's *ch'i* was exercised together with the intellectual faculties. The Manual aims at the order and harmony of nature in the whole of Chinese artistic life. It begins with a discussion of the fundamentals of painting. It says: "Neither complexity in itself nor simplicity is enough... The end of all method is to seem to have no method". Ku Ch'ang-k'ang applied his colours sprinkling and splashing, and the grass and flowers seemed to grow at the movement of his hand". Again: "If you aim to dispense with method, learn method. If you aim at facility, work hard. If you aim for simplicity, master complexity". It enunciates the Six Canons, Six Essentials, Six Qualities, Three Faults, and the Twelve Things to Avoid.

The ancients used the expression *yu pi yu mo* 'to have brush, to have ink'. It elucidates: "To know how to outline peaks of a mountain range but not know the strokes for modeling (*ts'un*) is described as *wu pi* 'not having brush'. To know the strokes but not know how to handle ink tones or indicate the nuances distinguishing near from far, clouds from reflections, light from shadow, is *wu mo* 'not having ink'.

If the brush is hesitant, it cannot be lively. The Manual encourages the spirit (*ch'i*) to rise, for when the commonplace dominates the *ch'i* subsides. To paint landscapes, one should first know how to draw trees. The expression *mien mien yu yen, t'ou t'ou shih tao* 'face face have eyes, head head is way' sums up what is natural. It means "Put your whole mind in what you do and you will not go far wrong". In painting trees, when one knows how to lay out the main structure, the rest will follow and fit in properly. It is a Manual where the action of *ch'i* and powerful brushwork go together. Essence of things, spontaneity of the brush moving, the power of the stroke, sturdy simplicity and true refinement, delicacy and vigour of execution, leaving the silk or paper untouched and nevertheless convey nuances of tone: all are the spirit and symbol of a vibrant painting.

Buddhism and Chinese Art– Buddhist art reached China along. the caravan routes of Central Asia. The earliest representations are of Buddhas, flying goddesses and Buddhist trinities at the backs of Chinese mirrors of the third and fourth centuries. The earliest gilt bronze statuette of the Buddha dated 338, was set up under Hsiung-nu rule. The Wei rulers built large cave temples in Kansu. The first temple was built at Tun-huang in 366. The so-called barbarians or foreigners showed to the Chinese their cultural excellence through these magnificent temples, the grandeur of colossal statues at Yun-kang, and the profound thought of the Buddhist sutras. The sinocentric view of the Chinese underwent a new realization of the existence of other cultural universes, sometimes deeper and more sophisticated than their own. The first series of cave 16-20 at Yün-kang, begun under the supervision of T'an-yao in 460 and under the partonage of Wei sovereigns, are reminiscent of Bamiyan in Afghanistan. The Wei emperors were responsible for a hybrid form of art which was gradually undergoing sinification. Yün-kang was replaced by Lung-mên, after 494. The bas-relief sculpture at Lung-mên was a rapid advance from the experimental stage to the full mastery of the art of low-relief. Buddhist painting and sculpture gave to China a new ambience wherein the historic and funerary sculptures were replaced by glowing divine forms in the round, smile on their faces, ornamental draperies, soft features endowed with compassion, beautiful mandorlas edged by flames, drapery falling in subtle and gracefully flowing lines, abundance of ornaments and richly adorned crowns. Buddhist art spread with extreme rapidity endowing the vast spaces of China with the glory and beauty of the divine. As to the imperial and literati world, so was art accessible to the humblest and lowliest in the land. The feeling for rhythm, movement and fantasy can be sensed in the earliest dated caves of Tun-huang. Vimalakirti who represents the ideal of virtue and saintliness in Chinese Buddhist iconography begins to appear conspicuously at Tun-huang before the beginning of the Sui period. China had become in every sense a great world power during the seventh century. Buddhist art reflected varied international contacts including Sassanian forms in the pillars or in the ribbons flowing from the coronets. The caves of T'ien-lung-shan, which date before 750, display influences of late Gupta styles: serene tranquility and controlled rhythmical movement based on the *tribhanga* posture. The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in their extreme realism acquire an almost earthly appearance.

Buddhist art become a direct source of inspiration for the common man. The salvation embodied in the Sutra of the Western Paradise ensured heavenly blessings achieved through meritorious actions and by the help of compassionate Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Individual destiny no longer depended entirely on personal karma, but could be modified by the compassion of such Bodhisattvas as hymned by Śantideva. Monk Hui-yuan had a temple built on Mount Lu in AD 386 which had the images of Amitābha, Maitreya, Bhaiṣajyaguru and Tāra. The very site of the image became a heaven frequented by the gods. Commissioning or contributing to the cost of an image, temple or stupa is a highly recommended work of merit. Artist's creative invocation became the consecration of life in general. The artistic forms in the round or in flat were the divinization of life. Buddhist art introduced gigantism. The passion for immensity affected cliff sculpture and bronzes. Enormous statues were made under the Northern Wei dynasty, and throughout China, during the 5th and 6th centuries. Grouping of figures was another characteristic of Buddhist art. Buddha was accompanied by a retinue of monks, usually Śariputra and Maudgalyayana, or Kaśyapa and Ananda. Merit accruing from the divine presence of statues in the round or in painting was yet another characteristic of Buddhist art. Portraying the inner personality of patriarchs and apostles of the Buddha through a distinguishing attribute, special gesture (mudra) or a salient pose of meditative power or prowess in dialectics, inspired the populace. The philosophic traditions of China were renewed, modified and enriched by the new stimuli to artistic sensitivity from Buddhism. In the tolerant flexibility of Buddhist art forms people saw the expression of their own ideals.

Role of the Iranian Ecumene in the Buddhist art of China : The Iranian cultural world of Parthia, Bactria under the Yüeh-chih, Sogdiana, Ferghana, Khotan and other states on the Southern Route of Central Asia played a crucial role as the transmitters of Buddhist ideas and forms to China. There are six important aspects of Buddhist painting that have been influenced by Iranian Buddhist monks, who were great masters of Sanskrit.

(i) *Paradise scenes* : The earliest translation of the Sukhavati-vyuha was done by the Yüeh-chin Laukakṣin in AD 147-186. The second translation was by An Shih-Kao who was a royal prince of Parthia. He gave the kingdom to his uncle and became a Buddhist monk. He came to China in AD 148 and worked at translation till AD 170. He translated over a hundred Buddhist texts, out of which 55 have survived. He also translated the Sukhāvatī-vyuha. It deserves to be noted that the earliest translators of Buddhist sutras came from the Iranian world. These two translators are the second and third in the history of Chinese Buddhism. The Sukhavati-vyūha preaches salvation by faith. It is occupied with a description of the joys of this Happy Land (sukha-vati), its gardens, flowers, rivers, music, golden and jewelled trees, and other pleasances. It is an enchanting description of the Western Paradise. Through acts of merit and faith, devotees could be reborn directly into this paradise, escaping the sufferings of *saṁsara*. These majestic paradises are painted on the chapel walls of Tun-huang to inspire faith in the beholder of the blessings of heaven and the hope of sharing in them. To the Chinese it was the tender and comforting form of Buddhism in the brilliant colours of the murals. The austerity and *rigor mortis* of the funerary bas-reliefs of early Chinese art became the lively and radiant vision of the Western Paradise. Buddhism brought *joie de vivre* in a painting.

(ii) *Dance Scenes*–The second Iranian contribution to Chinese Buddhist art are the graceful dancers in the Paradise scenes. The Chinese obtained their jade from Khotan. From the dawn of their civilization the Chinese have regarded jade as the insignia of kings and have believed it to be a product of heaven itself charged with creative and mysterious powers. White jade was conducive to the cultivation of virtue and the expulsion of evil thoughts from the mind. Jade is employed in Chinese metaphor as a symbol of nobility, beauty and purity, much as 'golden' is in other languages. Alongwith jade came 'jade beauties' from the Iranian world to China. They are conspicuous in the murals at Tun-huang, as dancing angels. Some of the finest murals at Tun-huang are of dancing goddesses in the joyous tenderness of their vibrant movements. Tun-huang shows three types of female dresses: the flowing drapery of Chinese ladies, the sensuous contours of the tight wear of Iranian jade beauties, and the elegance of the bare bodies of Indian belles. The Confucian orthodoxy about feminine drapery was set to naught by the jade beauties. Chinese art gained a new dimension of heavenly resplendence of paradise. The dancing feet of these danseuses wound even the heart of the hollow wind with the tinkle of golden bells.

(iii) *Colossal images* - are based on the Avantṁsaka-sūtras. Their main deity is Abhyucca-deva Rocana. *Abhyucca* means 'colossal' and Rocana is the Sanskrit cognate of Iranian *Roshan*. The Avantṁsaka-sūtras were translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra in AD 422 from an original Sanskrit manuscript that was obtained by Fa-ching from Khotan in 408. Five colossal images of Rocana Buddha were carved in five caves of Yün-kang (nos. 16-20) under the supervision of T'an-yao under the Northern Wei Emperors. These five statues were for the benefit of the five emperors: T'ai-tsu (ruled 386-408), T'ai-tsung (409-423), Shih-tsu (424-452), Kung-tsung, Kao-tsung (452-465). The fifth was the reigning Emperor. The five caves were constructed in 460-465. The last statue was modelled after the actual body of Emperor Kao-tsung to benefit the Emperor himself.

Empress Wu Tse-t'ien sent a special enovy to Khotan for the

Sanskrit text of the *Avantaṁsaka*. Its translation was done by Śikṣānanda, a monk from Khotan. The Empress also took part in the endeavour. In the Confucian concept of the state, an Empress was impossible, but in Buddhist *sūtras* a woman could be a *cakravartin* or universal empress. To symbolise that the Buddhist concept of *cakravartin* sovereign prevails over that of the Son of Heaven, the Empress had colossi of Rocana Buddha set up in China. The Northern Great Image was constructed in cave 96 of Tun-huang in 695 by the Empress. The textual foundations for gigantism in Chinese sculpture were laid by the texts secured from the Iranian area of Khotan.

(iv) The blue colour of Persian mosques has its precursor in Zen. In the beautiful and deep colour of the blue porcelain is reflected the ideal of Zen. The light of Illumination is like the azure of the sky, luminous by nature.

(v) An important text on Buddhist sculpture was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in 689-691 by Devaprajña, a monk of Khotan.

(vi) Chinese art was influenced in technique and in decoration by Sassanian motifs in the glorious T'ang period when the princes and nobility of Sassanian Persia fled to China under threat from the Arabs, and established themselves in the capital Ch'ang-an and in Hangchow, among other places.

Zen and Art– Zen is the culmination of Buddhist art in its flapping wings, in snowflakes fluttering in the breeze, in serene moonlight among the murmuring trees, in resolute quietness, or in the unfathomability of the gaping valley below that reminds of the depths of Ignorance (*avidyā*) where all beings are sinking. Art is the transformation body of identity where every movement issues from Dharma. The Heart Sutra provides the dictum of Zen art : Form is Emptiness, and Emptiness is Form (*rūpam eva śunyata, śunyatā eva rūpam*). The diaphanous colours and the blank spaces in a Zen painting echo this relativity of form and emptiness, where soft colours draft along the white paper in their non-attachment. We see here aesthetic tranquillity, truth shorn of its external trappings. In Zen activity (*zenki*) a Zen monk sitting silently before us, is infused with the meaning of 'prior to form'. Zen expression is concentration of the Formless Self.

The perfect whole of Zen aesthetic expression possesses seven characteristics :

1. Asymmetry	2. Simplicity	3. Austere Sublimity or Lofty Dryness
4. Naturalness	5. Subtle Profundity or Profound Subtlety	
6. Freedom from Attachment		7. Tranquillity

Each of them is of equal significance.

1. *Asymmetry* -means irregular, crooked, unbalanced, uneven, informal. A circle, being round, is symmetrical. There are figures which are round but crooked. A painting of *Bhaiṣajyaguru* of the Yakushiji at Nara evolves the feeling of perfect, holy, and otherworldly. A Zen painting of *Śakyamuni Descending the Mountain* by Liang K'ai is asymmetric, the face is irregular, and its brushwork is informal. Zen paintings have broken through the ideal 'formal' forms. It is the realization of 'worldly passions fallen away, empty of all holy content'. They go beyond perfection and holiness. Buddha is non-holy as a transcendence of holiness. Asymmetry means the negation of fixed form. In Zen perfect form is rejected. Perfection of form is not true perfection. On the contrary, no form is perfection. Negation of every form is the ground for Asymmetry. "Perfection of negated form" is true perfection. The faces of the Apostles are crooked, or the head is too big, or the jaw is excessively large; they express freedom from form. Negating orderliness or shapeliness is a manifestation of No Form.

2. *Simplicity* - means sparse, not cluttered, and colours are unobstrusive. Simplest colour is black Chinese ink. Ink paintings have much that cannot be expressed by slow colouring. Simplicity is abandon, there is nothing limiting, as in a cloudless sky. It is "boundless". Simplicity is having no form that is true. When a simple Self, that is Nothingness manifests itself in something, that something is simple. Simplicity negates complexity. No Form is the simplest form, and no colour is the simplest colour. Simplicity is not simpleness, but an expression of the highest level.

3. *Austere sublimity* or *Lofty Dryness*– Being dried, lofty or sublime means being seasoned. It means the disappearance of the sensuous, of the skin and the flesh. In Liang K'ai's *Śākyamuni Descending the Mountain*, *Śakyamuni*'s face and body have discarded the sensuous, are advanced in life, and seasoned. The sturdy boughs of an ancient pine tree have lost the greenness and

freshness of skin and flesh, have become bony with just the pith remaining. All extraneous elements have worn away. "Becoming dried" in Zen aesthetics means a penetration to the essence by a master, which is beyond the reach of a beginner. It is the quality of eternal life. It signifies the disappearance of inexperience, unskillfulness, with only the essence in remainder. From this Dried Loftiness arises a power, the sturdiness and hardiness of an aged pine. Austere sublimity is being seasoned, being "ancient and graceful" (*sabi*), or having a "poverty surpassing riches" (*wabi*).

4. *Naturalness* - means not being artificial. It signifies 'unstrained', 'having no mind'. True *sabi* in Zen beauty comes naturally, without being strained. It is a creative intent so pure and so concentrated as in *samadhi*. Intentional naturalness results when the artist enters what he is creating, so that there is no distance between the two. Naturalness means not being artificial, or being as we orginally are, No Mind.

5. *Subtle Profundity or Deep Reserve*– It is being both profound and subtle. It is implication rather than naked exposure. The landscapes in broken ink and splashed ink are monochrome paintings whose content is more in implication than elaborate delineation. Mu-chi's *Eight Views of Hsiao-hsiang* do not disclose all, yet contain something infinite. They have a depth of content that can be felt in infinite vibrations rather than in minute details. 'Calm darkness' is associated with this characteristic. The painting of Liang K'ai leads to deep composure and calm, it pacifies the mind. The darkness of a tea room is to prevent distraction, to lead to composure of the mind. The murky atmosphere of the room induces peaceful calm. Profound Subtlety is the Self Without Form, which cannot be expressed in form. It is the basis of true reverberation.

6. *Freedom from Attachment* - is freedom from habit, convention, custom, formula, etc. It is not being bound. It is being unconstrained in thought and action. Non-attachment is a very important cultural characteristic of Zen. It is being free from attachment to things existent or transcendent. No coil of rope can bind one non-attached. Unorthoxy in language transcends ordinary usage of words. Ryokan's 'Mind, Moon, Circle' exhibits this characteristic in a remarkable degree. Freedom from Attachment is no hindrance. While being concerned with what has form, it remains formless.

7. *Tranquillity* - is being inwardly oriented, not being disquieted and not being disquieting. The actions of Zen have not to be disturbing, and of composure. Mu-ch'i's painting *Persimmons* permeates the mind with quiet and calm. It is expressed in the phrase "rest amid motion".

These Seven Characteristics constitute an inseparable whole and this cultural complex permeates every aspect of Japanese life. They are rooted in the Formless Self, the bottomless depth of human being. Zen art seeks to awaken the formless self in every man. The 'culture of form' has to change to one in which the Self Without Form expresses itself. It will be a deepened culture that will transform the very substance of life.

The Sand and Stone Garden of the Ryōanji monastery has no tree. It is bordered on two sides by an old earthen wall that emanates Subtle Profundity. The stones arranged into five groups exhibit Asymmetry. The whole area is asymmetric space. The shape of stones is Austere Sublimity. The entire garden suggests an unkown depth of Profundity. The rocks are kept to an absolute minimum so as not to absorb all our attention and make it difficult to sense Nothingness. The Simplicity of the garden is its outstanding feature. The garden is calm and still. It touches the deeps of our being, our Formless Self :

> When thoughts are quieted down
> Fire itself is cool and refreshing (Abbot Kwaisen).

When the moon of Suchness *(Tathata)* rises from the other end of the horizon, its shadow is cast on the undulating waves now shining silver.

RELEVANCE OF *CILAPPATIKĀRAM* IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

V. Balambal

Cilappatikaram, one of the five Tamil epics, (the other four being *Maṇimēkalai, Vaḷaiyāpati, Kuṇḍalakēsi & Cīvakacintāmaṇi*) written in the cankam age by Ilanko Atikal, deals with an important theme in which the three kingdoms of the Tamils (i.e) Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya, were involved. *Cilappatikāram* means the story that centres round a *Cilampu* (anklet).

The epic contains a prelude *Patikam and Uraiperukaṭṭurai* and three major divisions, divided in to thirty cantos. The first one deals with the incidents which had happened in the Coḷa country in ten cantos; the second division cantaining thirteen cantos refers to the happenings at Madurai; and the third division with seven chapters, is meant for the incidents in the Cera country. Its heroine Kaṇṇaki is passive in Pukār; fiercely active in Madurai; and transcendentally fulfilling in Vañci.

THE STORY :

Kaṇṇakī and Kōvalaṉ, belonging to rich Vaiśya families of Pukār in the Coḷa country got married at the age of twelve and sixteen respectively. They led a happy life for some years. Later, Kōvalaṉ was attracted towards Mātavi a dancing girl of high calibre. He left his wife and lived with Mātavi, who gave birth to his daughter Maṇimekalai in course of time. During Indraviḷa, there arose a serious misunderstanding between Mātavi and Kōvalaṉ and the latter left the former and returned to his wife Kaṇṇakī. Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇakī decided to leave Pukār to start a new life at Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.

On the way, the couple met at Jain seer Kavunti Aṭikaḷ. Amidst sufferings all the three reached Madurai where Kavunti Aṭikaḷ left the couple under the care of cowherdess Mātari and her daughter Aiyai. Kōvalaṉ took one of the two costly ruby studded anklets of Kaṇṇakī and went to the market place where he met a goldsmith who promised to sell the same to the queen and get good money for Kōvalaṉ. But the goldsmith, having already stolen the anklet of the Pāṇḍya Queen, carried a false message to the king that Kōvalaṉ was the real thief. Pāṇḍyan Neḍuñceḷiyaṉ, who was in a sulky mood, hastily ordered for the execution of the thief if he was seen with the anklet. The order was executed.

When Kaṇṇakī came to know about the fate of her husband, she challenged the authority of the Pāṇḍya king and proved her husband's innocence by breaking the anklet, which contained rubies, whereas the anklet of the queen contained pearls. The just king regretted for his injustice and fell dead from the throne. His queen also followed suit, as she did not want to live as a widow.

Kaṇṇakī's anger was not quenched. She wanted to punish the city and the people with the exception of some. She plucked her left breast and threw it over the city cursing that the city be consumed by flames. Matura Devī, the guardian Deity of the city explained to Kaṇṇakī the reasons for the murder of Kōvalaṇ and the role played by destiny and *Karma*. After setting fire to Madurai, Kaṇṇakī reached Malaināḍu, the Cera country.

The hunters saw Kaṇṇakī going in a celestial car to heaven. They conveyed the same to the Cera king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ who got the story of Kaṇṇakī from his court poet Cīṭṭalai Cāttaṇār. He told Iḷaṅkō to compose *Cilappatikāram*. Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ decided to erect an image of Kaṇṇakī, the chaste goddess at *Vañci*. He undertook an expedition to north, defeated the northerners and made kings Kaṇaka and Vijaya carry the stone after bathing it in Ganges. He performed *a yajña* and installed the statue of Kaṇṇakī and donated for the daily offerings. Rulers from all parts of India and Ceylon came for the installation of the image. They also did the same in their respective countries to attain prosperity.

PERIOD :

Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ (140-192 AD) belonged to the second century A.D. As Kaṇṇakī had come to his territory during his period, this incident should have taken place then. Hence *Cilappatikāram* is one of the later cankam works.

AUTHOR :

Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ was the younger son of Ceralātaṇ and brother of Ceran Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ. As an astronomer predicted that the younger son had the rays of kingship, to make his elder brother succeed his father to the Cera throne, Iḷaṅkō renounced royal life and became a monk. At Cāṭṭanār's instigation, Iḷaṅkō wrote *Cilappatikāram*. He chose to live in Kuṇavāyirkōṭṭam (Arukaṇkōil as interpreted by Aṭiyārkkunallār, commentator of *Cilappatikāram*), perhaps a Jain monk of the Nirgrantha sect.[1]

Relevance of *Cilappatikāram* in the New Milienium

The incidents mentioned in *Cilappatikāram* may be questionable. Some atheists and rationalists may not even agree with some of the happenings. Whatever may be, it cannot be denied that this epic conveys some definite messages to the present society. Some of them may be relevant even in the future.

Even in the prelude[2], Cāttanar while asking Iḷaṅkō Aḍikaḷ to compose *Cilappatikāram*, specifies that the work should convey the following:

a) For kings who deviate from the path of righteousness, the *dharma* will become the God of Death.

b) Great men will adore chaste women.

c) Destiny will manifest itself and be fulfilled. Apart from this at the end of the epic Iḷaṅkō Atikaḷ clearly specifies the dos and don'ts of life[3]. Incidentally also the author conveys many more messages to the future generation.

Injustice will not be ignored and wrong doers should be punished. *Cilappatikāram* narrates the hasty decision of Neḍuñceḻiyaṉ which caused the death of Kōvalaṉ. King paid a heavy penalty of losing his life, wife and the kingdom[4]. Similarly, though Kōvalaṉ is the hero of the epic, for the sins he had committed to his parents, Kaṇṇakī and Mātavi too, he faced death. Though it is accounted as destiny, even in this birth, he was disloyal to the above mentioned people and *dharma* had taken its course of action even in this birth itself. According to *Cilappatikāram*, great men will adore chaste women. Though it can be appreciated, in the days to come, there should be some change in this approach. Because chastity is common to both men and women. It was because of his unchaste behaviour, Kōvalaṉ lost his riches and fortune. He was neither loyal to Kaṇṇakī, nor to Mātavi. Like women, men are also supposed to keep up their standard and prove to be chaste atleast in future. In these days of AIDS it is necessary that both men and women should have mental and physical health.

Destiny and the theory of *Karma* play important roles in *Cilappatikāram*. For all the mishaps in the epic, destiny was held responsible. When we are not able to reason out something, the easy reply is fate or destiny. Though Kōvalaṇ was not a good person and was very sensual, he did not deserve execution. When Kaṇṇakī was puzzled, Maturāpati states that Kōvalaṇ, as Barata in previous birth was responsible for the death of Caṅkama, a vaiśya who was wrongly identified as a spy by Barata. Latter's wife Nilī cursed Barata to face the same in the next birth. Hence innocent Kovalaṇ faced death in this birth.[5] The moment of ripening of past *karma* for Kōvalaṇ was the time when Neduñceḷiyaṇ ordered his execution after hearing the goldsmith calling Kōvalaṇ the thief[6] Kōvalaṇ was vanquished by his predestined fate[7]. Good and bad activities yield the results unfailingly. So it is necessary to perform righteous deeds.

At Madurai, Kavunti Aṭikaḷ tells Kōvalaṇ, about fate and *karma*. The wise and learned people do not grieve when the unavoidable reaction of the past karma shows itself. But the evil people could not bear it and become aggressive and mad because of their ignorance.The separation of Rāma from Sītā, and Nala from Damayantī was due to fate.[8] Sufferings in this birth may not be due to wrong action done in this birth, but may due to the wrong deeds in past. Only by doing one's duty *(Svadharma)*, one can attain salvation.

Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ appeals to the people not to give false witness, tell lies, use violence, gossip, give hasty judgement, have friendship with wicked people etc. The major turning point in the life of Kōvalaṇ was his meeting with the goldsmith who was the real thief, liar and highly selfish. Because of the behaviour of this evil personality, Kōvalaṇ was beheaded, king and queen fell dead, and the whole city of Madurai, with the exception of the Brāhmaṇas, chaste women, the righteous people, cows, the aged and children was set afire by Kaṇṇakī[9]. Had the king been sensible and just, he could have averted all these damages.

LOVE FOR NATURE:

It is interesting to note when the poet starts with benediction, he praises moon, sun, clouds and the city of Pukār. Then only he enters into the theme of his poem. As the three kingdoms of the Tamils were scenes of action, the natural beauty of these regions is vividly described. The plains, rivers,valleys, forests, hills, mountains, coastal regions, sun, moon, sky, earth, sand, fire, wind, streams, plants, trees, flowers, fruits, vegetables, grains, root crops, various seasons, climates, etc. are beautifully picturised. As Keats says, "a thing of beauty is joy for ever". Nature is a great teacher, companion and friend. If we develop a love and concern for nature, life would be wonderful and worth living. *Cilappatikāram* gives this message to the society.

RELIGIOUS UNITY :

The ancient Tamils worshipped Śiva, Viṣṇu, Balarāma, Muruga, Devī, Serpent, Nature, Agni, Indra, Buddha, Jina, etc[10]. There was communal unity. The people were simple and god fearing but were never fanatic. Kōvalaṇ's parents were Buddhists; Kaṇṇakī's parents were Ājīvikas; Ceṅkuṭṭuvan, being a Hindu worshipped Śiva, Viṣṇu and Koṟṟavai and performed *yajña*; Mātavi and Maṇimēkalai were Buddhists; Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ was Jain monk; Cīttalai Cāttaṇār was a Buddhist; Kaṇṇakī and Kōvalaṇ followed the bathing and eating practices of the Jains when they were in Mātari's house; Pattini cult was introduced by Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṇ, the hunters worshipped Muruga ; there were temples at Tiruççendūr, Tiruççeṅkoṭu, Erakam and Veṇkunram for Muruga; the herds worshipped Kṛṣṇa; Koṟṟavai was also worshipped; rivers like Kāveri, Vaikai, Gaṅgā were respected and worshipped; there were temples for Sun, Kalpa tree, Airāvata (the celestial elephant), Vajra, Cāttaṇ and other gods[11]. Inspite of the existence of various deities and worship, there was no sectarian spirit among the ancient Tamils. Though they worshipped Śiva and Viṣṇu, there was no division of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. It may be because of no fundamental differences or people did not look up on religious distinctions seriously. This is an important lesson to be learnt in the new millennium. In the name of religion communal clashes occur, causing damage to lives, properties, unity and solidarity. This should be averged. People should be tolerant towards other religionists. All religions preach noble things. Like the early Tamils, people of modern times should promote universal brotherhood, unity and integrity.

CASTE FEELINGS :

Cilappatikāram makes mention of innumerable castes and communities. The occupational differences also existed in the early Tamil society. Brāhmaṇas like Kauśika, Māṭalaṇ, Māṅkāṭṭu Maṟaiyōṉ, Vaiśyas like, the parents of Kaṇṇaki and Kōvalaṇ and many others; Yādavas (cowherds) like Mātari and Aiyai, dancing class, prostitutes, kingly class, agriculturists and many others lived in harmony. *Cilappatikāram* never mentions and clash among any religious or caste groups. Caste was not a barrier in early times. In the early Vedic period, there were people of all the four *varṇas* in one family. But the *varṇa* system turned to be very vicious and contributed to the segregation of people. In the present day, caste feelings are kindled by people of vested interest who are damaging the unity, peace and order. The policy of peaceful coexistence followed in the time of *Cilappatikāram* could contribute to the harmonious living in the new era.

SUPERSTITIONS, OMENS AND BELIEFS:

The ancient Tamils had many superstitious beliefs. It may prove to be correct sometimes as in the case of dreams of Kaṇṇakī and Kōpperuntēvi.[12] Both of them dreamt of evil happenings which came true. People believed that a dream foreshadowed coming fortune or misfortune. The appearance of hump backed bull from opposite direction when getting out on any business was supposed to lead to calamity. One such bull came when Kōvalaṉ started from Mātari's house and he was later executed[13]. During Indravila, the left eye of Kaṇṇakī and the right eye of Mātavi throbbed. This caused the union and separation between them and Kōvalaṉ respectively[14].

Cilappatikāram deals in detail with omens and beliefs. The falling down of the septre and the royal umbrella of their own accord; appearance of Indra's bow (rainbow) at night; falling of stars at day time were bad omens which foretell that some evil was in store for the ruling class.[15] Similarly, the rural people believed that the following omens indicated the occurrence of calamities[16].

1. Milk in the pot has not curdled.
2. Beautiful eyes of the big humped bulls are full of tears;
3. Butter in the pot does not melt.
4. Active lambs do not frisk about.
5. Four nippled cows are shuddering and bellowing in fear and the big bells tied to their necks fall down.

The truth behind these beliefs is not known. But in practice, people had experienced the same. Even now there are people believing these superstitions. The people of the new millennium could avert such beliefs.

Cilappatikāram says about the knowledge of the people in astronomy and astrology and how they used the latter whenever one fell ill or sickness persisted. They also believed in fixing up an auspicious time to start on expedition, pilgrimage etc. Performance of expiatory ceremonies give peace of mind to the wrong doers. All these beliefs may not be continued. People should reason out things and try to do good things. Instead of harming people and later doing expiatory ceremonies, people should realise the need for good words, actions and maintaining good relationship with one and all. Faith in god would do wonders. Kavunti Aṭikaḷ, Aiyai, Mātari, Māṭalaṉ, etc. showed love and care for Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇakī in their times of distress and invoked gods for their prosperity too.

NON PERMANENCE OF LIFE :

Nothing is permanent in this world. When we live for a short while, we should do good to others. Māṭalan says to Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ about the non permanence of this life[17]. Even Kōvalaṉ regrets for his attitude towards his parents, wife and Mātavi. He wanted to turn a new leaf.[18] Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ immortalised his own name and that of Kaṇṇakī by erecting the image of Chaste Goddess in his capital Vañcī. Sometimes, this practice takes unwanted turn. Undeserving people are immortalised by installation of statues. People should use their reasoning power and do the correct things during their life time to attain permanent fame.

SUFFERING OF THE WIDOWS :

Cilappatikāram depicts the pathetic position of widows. When Mātarī hears the death of Kōvalaṉ, she feels for Kaṇṇakī as she knows the worst condition of the widows in Tamil society[19]. Sangam literature also refer to their status. Widows preferred to be *Satīs* because the former was an unwanted person in the society. They were degraded and humiliated. Ramabai Ranade, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and others worked for the upliftment of the widows and the Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856. But their conditon is not much changed. It is necessary that women should be educated and employed so that they could stand on their own legs. Women, especially the widows, should be treated with dignity and care and allowed to take their own decisions.

DESERTED WOMEN :

Cilappatikāram states about the desertion of Kaṇṇaki and Mātavi by Kōvalaṉ and how they were mentally and physically broken. Their condition was worse than that of widows[20]. In the male chauvinistic world, women are supposed to be under the control of menfolk even if people do not have concern and care for deserted women, it is necessary that they are not humiliated. Marriage is not the ultimate thing in one's life. If good partners are not available, women should know to lead a life of their own. The society should contribute for the same. Women should be allowed to have peaceful and purposeful life.

PROMOTION OF MUSIC AND DANCE :

Life will become monotonous if one does not have a taste for music. *Cilappatikāram* deals with music and dance in detail in six chapters[21]. Various types of music, dance, instruments, rhythm, drama, dance-drama, the qualifications of a music and dance teacher, drummer, singer, dancer, instrumentalist, etc. are vividly described. Attaining perfection in the art was the aim of the artist. Every village hadKaḷam (dancing hall)[22]. *Cilappatikāram* mentions eleven types of dancing.[23] Dances and music, to please various gods and goddesses, are also narrated. To make life more interesting and useful, one should develop an interest for fine arts like music, dance, painting etc.The rules and regulations followed by the early Tamils to achieve perfection should be taken note of by the modern people.This would help art lovers to progress in fine arts and enjoy life in the right perspective.

TRADE AND COMMERCE :

Cilappatikāram states elaborately about internal and external trade, market place, commodities sold, promotion of good will etc. To promote national and international relationship and improve the financial condition, care should be shown in developing trade and commerce.

TOWN PLANNING :

Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ describes the three kindgoms of the Tamils and the roads, streets, market places, etc. in a beautiful manner. With the fast growing population and limited space, people should know to utilise the available place with maximum benefits and comforts. The means of transport and communication could be well developed and utilised.

JEWELLERY AND CLOTHING :

Though a monk, Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ was able to give a detailed account of the jewellery, and dress of women and men. He narrates different kinds of jewellery worn by Mātavi during Indraviḷa. She decorates herself from top to bottom in a grand manner[24]. Tips could be had from *Cilappatikāram* in making ornaments and dresses.

RELEASE OF PRISONERS :

Cilappatikāram refers to the release of prisoners during Indraviḷa[25] in th Cola country and during the installation of Kaṇṇakī's image and performance of *yajña* in the Cera country.[26] This practice is followed in modern times too. Prisoners are released during Gandhi Jayanti, Independence day, Republic day etc. Though it is a sign of rejoicing and pardoning, this practice should be followed with great care.

CONCLUSION :

Though eighteen hundred year old, *Cilappatikāram* has its own relevance to the modern time. It talks about religious, social and cultural unity and integration. But politically, India remained disunited. Though Kaṇṇakī attianed the status of Goddess, the condition of women is secondary in character. There were, positive and negative elements in the Tamil society as depicted in *Cilappatikāram*. An in-depth study of *Cilappatikāram* reveals that it could pass on many messages to future generations. The do's and don'ts mentioned by Iḷaṅkō Aṭikaḷ are very relevant to the new millennium. With an analytical study, a reader could take out the positive and useful messages which *Cilappatikāram* could contribute to make living useful and peaceful.

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8. xiv, ll. 27-60.
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10. v, ll. 169-178.
11. ix, ll. 9-15.
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13. xvi, ll. 100-101.
14. v, ll. 237-239.
15. xx, l.1 ff
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18. xvi, ll. 67-70.
19. xviii, ll. 134-45.
20. iv ll. 47-57.
21. cantos iii, ll., viii, xii, xviii, xxiv
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A NOTE ON ĀRJUNĀYANA COINS

Devendra Handa

The Ārjunāyanas find their first mention in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV. 112) and later in Samudragupta's Prayāga *praśasti* along with the Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Prārjunas, etc.[1]

J.F. Fleet held that the Ārjunāyanas may have been connected with the Pandoouoi or Pāṇḍava tribe of Panjab mentioned by Ptolemy.[2] Alexander Cunningham had also opined that they may have descended from the third Pāṇḍava Arjuna as their name indicates, just as the Yaudheyas are believed to have descended from the eldest Pāṇḍava brother Yudhiṣṭhira[3] Surprisingly, however, the Ārjunāyanas have not been mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. As such they seem to have gained political importance only after the middle of the second century BC and lost into oblivion after the Guptas. The limited number of their coins also indicates that they held sway over a small territory and were not very powerful economically.

James Prinsep was the first scholar to publish the first copper coin of the Ārjunāyanas from the collection of A. Burnes in 1838 though at the time he was unable to read the legend correctly.[4] Cunningham published in 1891 a similar coin obtained at Mathura.[5] This and another copper coin of a new type obtained by him are now housed in the British Museum, London.[6] V.A. Smith published two more copper coins of the Ārjunāyanas in 1906.[7] In 1976, the present author reported the discovery of two more copper coins of a new type[8] and in the following year Dasgupta published a base silver coin of the tribe from the collection of Jan Lingen.[9] The same year, P.L. Gupta took stock of the Ārjunāyana coins and published three more pieces, two (copper) from an anonymous Indian collection and one base silver piece, (the same as published by Dasgupta earlier) from the Lingen collection.[10] Thus the total number of the Ārjunāyana coins known till now does not exceed a dozen pieces. In 1993, Nisar Ahmad took stock of all the published Ārjunāyana coins classifying them into three series represented respectively by one, one and three varieties and offering his comments and views on the provenance and legends of these coins.[11]

Both Dr. P.L. Gupta[12] and Nisar Ahmad[13] have doubted the attribution of the two copper coins published by me to the Ārjunāyanas. The former remarks that "The coin is worn and I do not feel convinced of the legend that Handa sees and reads" and the latter observes that "these specimens are devoid of the legend Ārjunāyana and their type, Tree-in-railing/Lion, is particularly of some other tribe."

The legend on one of our coins is fairly clear and readable (Pl. I). It is republished here so that the scholars may recheck it and make sure of their view. I have shown the actual coins to various scholars - Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, Chandra Shekhar Gupta, Ashvini Agarwal - to mention only a few, and discussed the legend and other problems connected with these coins. All these are well-known scholars and numismatists and all of them concur with me that the legand may be read as *Ā(r)jun(ā)yana(āna)**. Unfortunately in India we do not have very good reproductions of the illsutrations and this perhaps may be the reason why Dr. P.L. Gupta does not see and read the legend as I do. If the above-mentioned scholars are to be believed and the legend may be checked from the accompanying illustration, the coins published by me should be taken as Ārjunāyana coins. Nisar Ahmad's objection to my coins being not the Ārjunāyana coins besides their being 'devoid of the legend', is their type "Tree-in-railing/Lion', which he believes 'is particularly of some other tribe'. Are the Bull/Elephant and Bull/Horseman types not common to different rulers and dynasties ? Tree in-railing/Lion type coins were issued by the Agra tribe located around modern Agroha, about 21 km north of Hisar on the main road to Sirsa (ancient Śairīṣaka). The similarities of types in Indian numismatics are generally witnessed as a result of proximity of time or space. The Ārjunāyanas were located just to the west and southwest of the Agras and were also not far removed in time (Map 1).

Ours are the first coins to have actually been discovered from the known ancient mounds of Nohar and Dhanasia (in tehsil Nohar), district Hanumangarh , Rajasthan (Map 2). All other coins are of indefinite provenance. Probably one or two pieces were procured at Mathura by Cunningham. In the absence of their definitely known provenance, Cunningham opined that the Ārjunāyanas were settled in the 'region lying west of Agra and Mathura, equivalent roughly speaking to the Bharatpur and Alwar States'.[14] Allan placed them in the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-

Agra.[15] The views of these two scholars are still followed by a majority of numismatists. No Ārjunāyana coin has actually ever been found from this region or from the Bharatpur and Alwar States as suggested by Cunningham. In the light of the discovery of our coins from the old mounds of Nohar and Dhanasia the Ārjunāyanas should now be located in this region and not anywhere else.

On the basis of the legend Nisar Ahmad has classified the copper and silver coins of the Ārjunāyanas into three series containing respectively the following three types of legends-

I. *Ārjunāyanāna*,

II. *Ārjunāyanāna jayaḥ*, and

III. *Ārjunāyanāna jaya(ḥ) Bhadrarāmasa*

Earlier, Dasgupta had noticed some four or five Brāhmī letters besides the legend *Ārjunāyanāna jaya*. These additional letters were read as *Damarudasa* or *Dhamarudasa* by P. L. Gupta when he published two more coins from the anonymous Indian collection. Nisar Ahmad's modification of this part of the legend as *Bhadrarāmasa* has almost been approved by P. L. Gupta and Prof. Ajay Mitra Shastri, the editors of the *Numismatic Digest*, who in their editorial comment have doubted only the reading of the second letter observing that it is difficult to suggest a better reading.[16] We, however, feel that the intended legend was *Bhadrārāmasa Ārjunāyanānāṃ jayaḥ* and the first word here indicates the name of the city of the Ārjunāyanas just as in the case of the Agra and Śibi coins which contain the legends *Agodaka(/e) Agāca janapadasa and Majhamikāya Śibi janapadasa* respectively and thus refer to their metropolises Agrodaka (modern Agroha near Hisar in Haryana) and Majhamikā (i.e. Mādhyamikā, modern Nagari near Chittor in Rajasthan). If it be so, we would have to look for a place of this name in the region from which the Ārjunāyana coins have come down to us. And there does exist a place of the name of Bhadra (Bhādrā) located at a distance of about 65 km west of Hisar on the old bed of the Vedic river Dṛṣadvatī, identified with modern Chitang or Chautang.[17] A part of the town is located on a huge ancient mound which yields, amongst others, early historic remains also. Bhadra is situated very close to the western border of Haryana with Rajasthan. People still name Nohar-Bhadra together as if they were very close to each other. I think that this Nohar-Bhadra region was the habitat of the tribe when these Ārjunāyana coins were issued during the first century BC/AD. We do not hear of the Ārjunāyanas during the subsequent more than two centuries. Like some other tribes they too must have been subjugated by the Kuṣāṇas and re-emerged on the political scene like the Yaudheyas after the exit of the Kuṣāṇas in the third century AD.

In the epics, *Purāṇas* and other some other texts, we find that sometimes the people and tribes were known after their territories or metropolises and vice versa. The complete paucity of literary references to the Ārjunāyanas after Pāṇini is somewhat enigmatic, more so when we find numerous tribes referred to in the great epic and the *Purāṇas,* the existence of many of which is otherwise unsubstantiated. As such, we feel that the Ārjunāyanas too may have been referred to after their metropolis Bhadra. A versa in the Vanaparva (254/20) of the *Mahābhārata* mentions the Bhadras as a republican tribe (*Gaṇa*), conquered along with the Rohitakas, Āgreyas, and Mālavas by Karṇa during his western expedition :

Bhadrān Rohitakāṃścaiva Āgreyān Mālavānapi/
Gaṇān sarvān vinirjitya nītikṛt prahasannival//

It, therefore, seems likely that the Ārjunāyanas have been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as the Bhadras after their metropolis Bhadrārāma or Bhadra.

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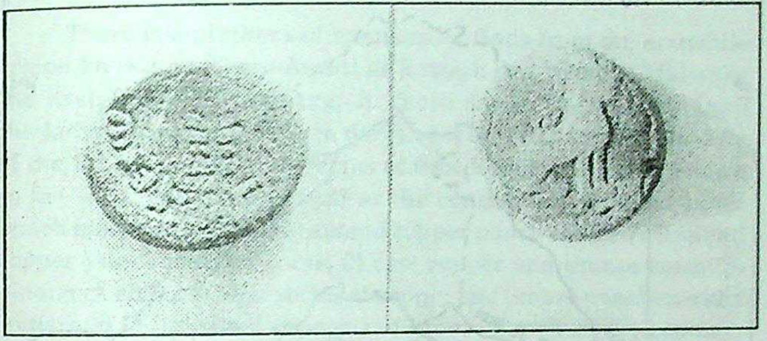
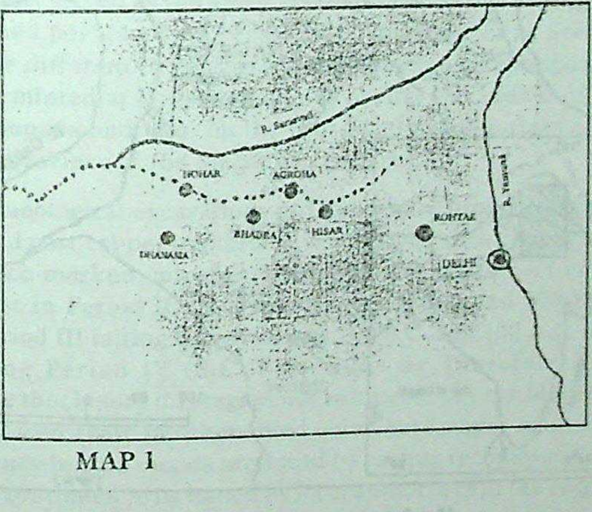
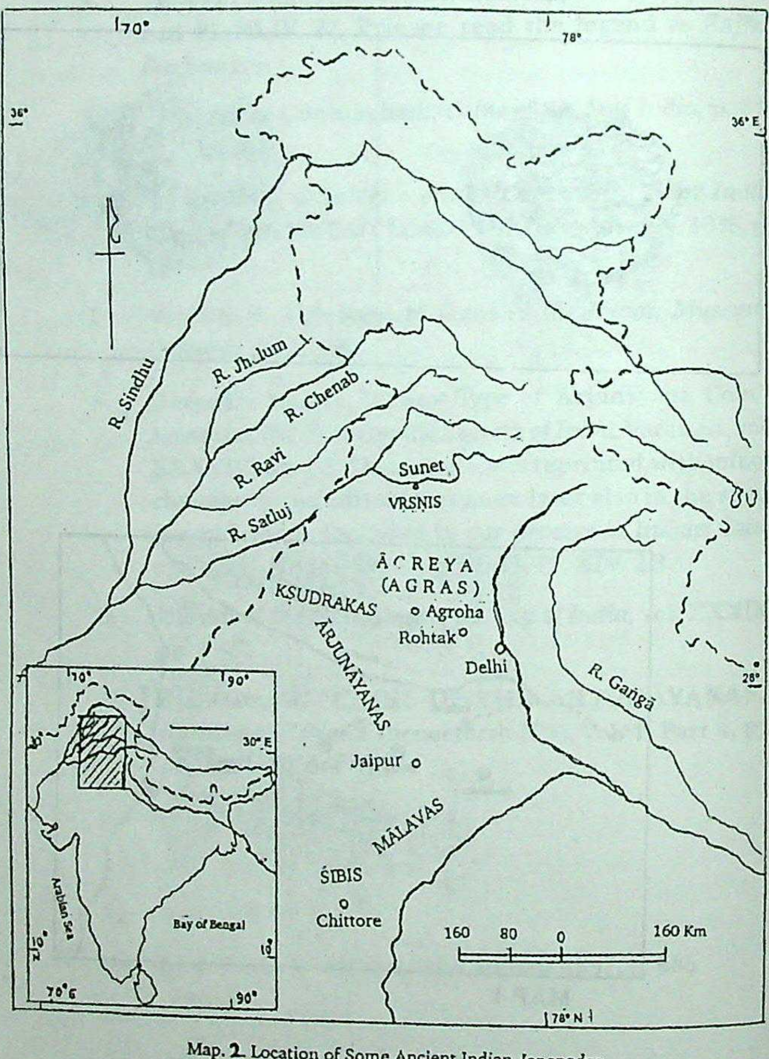



R. Sarasvati
NOHAR
AGROHA
BHADRA
HISAR
DHANASIA
ROHTAK
DELHI
R. Yamuna

MAP 1


70°
78°
36°
36° E
R. Sindhu
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Satluj
Sunet
VRṢṆIS
ĀGREYA
(AGRAS)
Agroha
Rohtak
Delhi
KṢUDRAKAS
ĀRJUNĀYANAS
R. Gaṅgā
28°
Jaipur
MĀLAVAS
ŚIBIS
Chittore
160 80 0 160 Km
78° N
70°
90°
30° E
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
10° N
10°
70° E
90°

Map. 2 Location of Some Ancient Indian *Janapadas*

EARLY COINS
FROM ERAN-VIDISHA-UJJAIN REGION : HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

S. J. Mangalam

There is a plethora of numismatic finds from the erstwhile region known as Ākara-Avanti or Eastern and Western Malwa or the Eran-Vidisha-Ujjain region. These coins can be dated from the Janapada (Avanti) days in the 5th century B.C. up to the middle of the 1st century B.C. The coins of this period and region known so far are 1) the local as well as the continental series of silver punch-marked coins, silver-coated copper punch-marked coins and copper punch-marked coins; 2) cast copper and bronze coins; 3) die-struck coins; 4) later series of copper and bronze punch-marked coins; and 5) inscribed copper and bronze punch-marked coins.

The unifaced and bifaced local silver punch-marked coins were issued by the local authorities before the region was annexed by the Mauryas who introduced here their coins of the Kārṣapaṇa standard. The sliver coated as well as uncoated copper punch-marked coins served as the lower denomination series during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan period (S.J. Mangalam et al. Section I). All these different categories of punch-marked coins appear to have been minted at Ujjain which was at first the capital of the Avanti Janapada and later on the provincial headquarters of an important province of the Magadhan empire.

Archaeological excavations at Ujjain have brought to light uninscribed cast copper and bronze coins along with copper and silver punch-marked coins. Stratigraphically these cast coins appear first in Period II dated between *circa* 500 and 200 B.C., then in Period III falling between *circa* 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. and overlapping Period IV (S.C. Ray 1967 : 6). Therefore it is presumable that before this region was subjugated by the Mauryas who introduced their punch-marked coins here, there existed a local currency in base metals produced by casting technique. Cast coins were continued to be issued by local authorities in the region around Ujjain even after the punch-marked imperial currency became popular here. Explorations and excavations carried out at ancient historical sites not far off from Ujjain such as Eran, Navdatoli, Kayatha, Maheshwar, etc. have yielded a considerable number of cast and punched coins in the same strata, revealing their simultaneous use in transaction. John Allan (1936 : lxxivlxxvii, 85-100) has identified nineteen varieties of cast copper coins preserved in the British Museum which, according to him, originated from United Province, Rajaputana and Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh). Over six thousand cast copper coins from the region around Ujjain preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Ujjain, are grouped into as many as 475 varieties (V.S. Wakankar, 1965 : 183). Similarly there are several collections that preserve cast uninscribed coins of this region. (S.L. Katare, 1952-b : 56; 1952-c : 60 ; T.N. Ramachandran, 19951 : 73 ; D.B. Diskalkar, 1948 : 42 ; Vijaya Lakshmi Singh, 1989 : 29). Typologically these cast coins include 1) Cross type; 2) Crescent-topped three arched hill type; 3) Cross/Crescent-topped three arched hill type; 4) Crescent-topped hill/Elephant type; 5) Hill/Tree type; 6) Cross/Tree type; 7) Cross and Hill /Tree in railing type; 8) Elephant type; and 9) Multi-symboled bifaced coins. All these types are found in several varieties. The most popular among these was the multi-symboled coins depicting hollow cross, three arched hill surmounted by crescent, tree in railing, elephant, *Jayadhvaja*, *Svastika* and taurine symbols on either side with variations in their position. These coins are known from Besnagar (Vidisha) excavations *(Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1913-14)* and subsequent excavations at Eran and Ujjain. Quite a good number of them from the collection of James Princep, Edward Thomas, Cunningham, Bhagawanlal Indraji, James Burgess, et al. are preserved in the British Museum which Allan (1936 : 87-97, Nos. 15-61) has classified into three varieties.

While on the one hand it is true that the earliest indigenous coins were produced by punching technique, the casting and die-striking techniques were not employed one after the other supplanting the previous one. The punching technique continued for a few more centuries even after the casting and die-striking methods were employed. Archaeological excavations at a number of sites in the Eran-Vidisha region and around have yielded coins from layers of various periods. The stratifications do not reveal successive or exclusive change over from one technique to another, from punching technique to casting or die-striking. On the contrary, what is revealed from the excavated coins as well as coin hoards and stray finds is that when the die-striking technique, the latest in minting art, was introduced in *circa* 3rd-2nd century B.C., the age-old practice of casting and punching did not abruptly become obsolete. Thus coins produced of all the three techniques were simultaneously in circulation for quite some time. They were uninscribed in the early phase, soon giving way to inscribed punch-marked coins, inscribed cast and die-struck coins. On the basis of palaeography the inscribed coins are datable from *circa* 200 B.C. Even after the introduction of inscribed coins, the practice of symbolic expression without any legend continued for a long time. Thus there are as many as thirty-six types of uninscribed die-struck copper and bronze coins, many of which have a number of varieties. In addition, the die-struck silver coins of the *kākani* and *māṣaka* standard were also in circulation. All these coins were minted and circulated in this region. Although the age-old punching technique was supplanted all over India by casting and die-striking techniques, in the region of Eran-Vidisha-Ujjain the punching technique with further improvement and precision was also in vogue along with other techniques up to the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Around the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. or a few decades earlier, i.e. immediately after the demise of emperor Aśoka, punch-marked uninscribed and inscribed copper and bronze coins of superior fabric were abbundantly produced for local circulation by different city states, local chieftains and by dynastic rulers. Many of these issuing authorities issued typologically identical currency, sans the legend. A peculiar symbol that is constantly noticed on all these coins is a meandering river containing not only aquatic species but also symbols such as taurine, *Svastika* and *Jayadhvaja*. Other frequently occurring devices are the Ujjain symbol, tree in railing, *Jayadhvaja*, taurine in arch as major symbols and a cluster of taurines and *Svastikas* as associate symbols. Normally four or five symbols are punched in a methodical manner only on one side of the coins. Some of the coins from Eran reported by Allan (1936 : 140) depict also elephant, bull and horse. In all, some twenty-five types with numerous variations have so far been known (S.J. Mangalam et al-in press-, Section IV). These methodically punched copper and bronze coins, both inscribed and uninscribed, are square or rectangular, size varying from 15x15mm to 26x26mm for square and from 13x16mm to 24x27mm for rectangular coins. Accordingly their weight ranges from 1.5 to 9 gm. So they form a class totally different from the earlier punch-marked coins.

Among the inscribed coins of the punch-marked category, the legend forms one of the four or five punches on one side of the coins, revealing the issuing authority, either individual or city state. The city states of this region other than Eran, Vidisha and Ujjain that issued currency are Bhagila, Kurara and Madavika. These coins give the legend in Brahmi which can be clearly read as BHAGILAYA (S.L. Katare, 1952-a: 9; K.B. Tiwari, 1981 : 221; Shankar Prasad Tiwari, 1983 : 116; S.J. Mangalam, et al-in press-Section V, Bhagila Coins), KURARAYA (Alka Tiwari, 1980-b: 1-3; K.B. Tiwari, 1981 : 223; S.J. Mangalam, et al), and MADAVIKE (A. S. Altekar, 1942 : 21; K.K. Dasgupta, 1976 : 55; Sankar Prasad Tiwari, 1983 : 112; S. J. Mangalam, *op. cit.*, Section V). Among these the Bhagila coins are found more in number including five types comprising fourteen varieties.

The palaeography of these city state coins is close to the Aśokan Brahmi. The chaotic political environment after the demise of Aśoka caused the emergence of a number of autonomous city states whose coins are a proof of the political developments. Hence S.L. Katare's (1982 : 35) coherent conclusion of assigning the Bhagila currency to c. 200 B.C. appears to be beyond doubt.

As known from the Puraṇas, the Mauryas were succeeded by the Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas and as such the region of Eran-Vidisha-Ujjain which formed part of the Mauryan empire was also presumably a part of the Śuṅga-Kaṇva domain. But the coins palaeographically datable from *c.* 200 B.C. to the middle of the 1st century B.C. obtained from this region reveal the names of several rulers having Mitra, Bhadra and other miscellaneous name endings, indicating possibly different families.

The Mitra rulers known from the coins are Viṣṇu Mitra, Vasu Mitra, Dhvaja Mitra, Bhanu Mitra, Narayaṇa Mitra and Vasuvara Mitra (S.J. Mangalam et al, Sec. V, 5). The typological features of these coins differ from each other. The chronological and genealogical order of these rulers cannot be determined at the present state of evidence. The third Kaṇva king, as listed in the Puraṇas, was Narāyaṇa. Possibly this Narāyaṇa could be identified with Narayaṇa Mitra of the coins.

A considerable number of punch-marked coins of Dama Bhadra, having the legend palaeographically close to the Aśokan Brahmī, are found in this region (Alka Tiwari, 1980-a: 5; S.J. Mangalam, et al, Sec. V, 6). This Dāma Bhadra might be a predecessor of king Bhāga Bhadra of the Besnagar pillar inscription. Although Mitra and Bhadra coins are known from other regions, these coins are found only in this region. Therefore the issuers were rulers of this region.

Apart from the Mitra and Bhadra name ending coins, there are also some coins of similar fabric issued by kings Revabhuti, Hathadeva and Bhūmidata (S.J. Mangalam, et al. Sec. V,7). Some of the coins of Revabhuti are found to be restruck by Hathadeva. Palaeographically the coins are datable to the 1st century B.C. The provenance of these coins was the region under the political control of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas till they were exterminated by the Sātavāhanas in *c.* 30 B.C. The given political circumstance, the palaeography of the legends, the exclusive coin provenance and the continuation of the same coin typology and fabric by the early Sātavāhanas prompt us to speculate that these coins were the issues of the predecessors of the Sātavāhanas in this region, namely of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas.

The last Śuṅga ruler, according to the Purāṇic list, was Devabhūti who was dethroned by his minister Vasudeva Kaṇva. The latter was succeeded by Bhūmi Mitra. The Purāṇas after a gap of a few centuries specify these rulers and their regnal period. Therefore the accuracy of spelling of the names cannot be without doubt. This discrepancy and inaccuracy of the Sātavahana genealogy in the Purāṇas on account of the inadvertent errors committed by later copy writers of the Purāṇas from the worn-out manuscripts cannot be taken as isolated instance. Similar errors must have occurred in the case of other dynastic genealogies as well. Thus the name Devabhūti, the last Śuṅga King, could have been a mistake for Revabhuti of the coins. Similarly, the restriking of Revabhūti's coins by Hathadeva is an indication that the latter defeated the former and established his supremacy. Now, if Devabhūti's real name was Revabhūti, the Kāṇva chief who defeated him was Hathadeva, not Vasudeva of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇic list of the Kāṇva genealogy, Vasudeva was succeeded by Bhūmi Mitra. Here too there is apparently an inadvertent error committed by the copy writers. The coins give a clear legend RAÑO BHŪMIDATASA. Bhūmidata's coins display a close affinity in metrology, fabric and devices to those of Hathadeva.

Thus according to the numismatic evidence the last Śuṅga ruler was Revabhuti who was defeated by the Kāṇva chief Hathadeva. This Hathadeva at first restruck some of the coins of his defeated rival and then issued his own currency. The type of currency of Hathadeva was continued by his successor Bhūmidata. In fine, on the basis of numismatic evidence we have postulated the following modification in the genealogy of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva families :

	Purāṇas	Coins
Last Śuṅga king :	Devabhūti	Revabhūti
First Kāṇva king :	Vasudeva	Hathadeva
Second Kāṇva king :	Bhūmi Mitra	Bhūmidata
Third Kāṇva king :	Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa Mitra

The founder of the Śuṅga family was Puṣya Mitra and four out of eight Śuṅga kings, as recorded in the Purāṇas, had Mitra name suffix. One of them was Vasu Mitra. Coins of Vasu Mitra found in this region might be of this Śuṅga king.

It may be argued that if the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas issued the coins referred to above, why then the same are not found in other regions of their empire ? The possibility is that as they issued coin types prevalent in this region, so too they may have issued coins in other regions according to the currency requirement and typology of the respective regions.

The Śuṅga and Kāṇva punch-marked copper and bronze coins of this region are found literally imitated by the early Sātavāhana kings Sātakarni and Siri Sāta after they annexed this region. The mint/mints of this region at Ujjain, Eran and Vidisha continued to operate throughout the political vicissitudes during the transition period of the Maurya-Śuṅga-Kāṇva-Sātavāhana hegemony over this region.

The earlier and later punch-marked coins, the cast as well as die-struck coins profusely found in this region, all minted here for local circulation, indicate the commercial importance of the region. Verily, Ujjain can be reckoned as the centrally located commercial capital of the Magadhan empire under the Mauryas, Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas.

N.B. For illustrations of the above discussed coins, please see the reference below, particularly that of the author.

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DAŚĀVATĀRA : AN ALLEGORY OF EVOLUTION

R. N. Prasher

In Indian mythology, emergence of life as an act of creation has as much a place as in Christian mythology. Accounts of various *Varṇas* appearing from various parts of God have been there since *Ṛgveda*[1] and Manu[2]. Yet, there has been a parallel stream describing biological evolution. *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*[3] describes evolution of Puruṣa through a succession of Agni, Sūrya, Soma, Megha and Auṣadhi. *Chandogya*[4] describes it a little more vividly as a process moving from earth to water and then to herbs, *Puruṣa* organ of speech in succession which then leads to *ṛk*, *sama* and finally to *udgitha*, the successor being the essence of the predecessor. Further ahead, this *Upaniṣad*[5], describes the sequence as a hierarchy which read in reverse gives us *Prāṇa*, *Aśā*, memory, space, fire, water, food, strength, *Vigyāna*, meditation, *Citta*, will, mind, speech and name. Here, it has been stated that the former produces the latter and hence is greater of the two.

It has been repeatedly noted[6] that Indians state things differently for the learned and for the laymen. Here, the creationist account was for the latter, biological evolution for the former.

This contrasts markedly with the total reliance on the Biblical creationist account in the Western world before 1859 when Darwin first published his theory of biological evolution. A pre-Darwin 19th century textbook, which has chapters on such secular subjects as vegetale and animal physiology, laws of motion, astronomy, hydrostatics, optics, electricity and chemistry, states in the chapter on history :

"The history of the world naturally divides itself into two great periods, namely, that which elapsed before the coming of the Saviour Jesus Christ into the world, and that which has elapsed since that event...... The various dates and periods noted in the Hebrew Scriptures, as examined and compared by many learned men, make the duration of the world, from the creation recorded in the book of genesis, till the birth of Christ, 4004 years."[7]

Further, in the Chapter titled "The Creation", it states :

"When man was created, he was placed in the garden of Eden, some delightful spot in the neighbourhood of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates ; ..... Eve was then made and brought to him to be his wife."[8]

Even up to late twentieth century, serious opposition to teaching of biological evolution continued. The subject is so sensitive that the Ontario (Canada) Ministry of Education's carefully worded guidelines for preparing the curriculum for intermediate and senior level science course state :

> "In science classes different viewpoints, including those based on deeply held religious beliefs, should be presented and discussed in a respectful and intelligent manner. If an issue of the science curriculum relates to religious perspectives, the teacher and the student must understand that in the science classroom other realms of knowledge, such as religion with its doctrines and faith orientation, must be respected for their own intrinsic value and contributions. However, just as religious education by its nature must involve students in the study of religious knowledge and methodology, science education must involve students in the study of scientific knowledge and methodology. ..... If the material being studied in a particular unit is likely to be incompatible with the deeply held religious beliefs of some students and their parents, then such material should be treated sensitively and with discretion. In some situations it may be appropriate to assign alternative material to the student concerned."[9]

In USA, the controversy has resulted in a protracted legal battle going up to the Federal Supreme Court. Laws were passed in several states at the beginning of 20th century prohibiting teaching of evolutionary biology in public schools. One such law was made by the State of Tennessee in 1925. The law provided :

> "That it shall be unlawful for any teacher in any of the Universities, Normals and all other public schools of the State which are supported in whole or in part by the public school funds of the State, to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine Creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals."[10]

John Thomas Scopes, a biology teacher was convicted and fined $100 for breaking this law. Though the conviction was reversed by the State Supreme Court[11], yet, the scared publishers removed all references to Darwin's theory from the text-books for almost three decades. The subject could be reintroduced only in the second half of twentieth century.

State of Arkansas had a similar law which made it illegal for a teacher to teach the theory or doctrine that man ascended or descended from a lower order of animals or to use a textbook that taught this theory. When this law was stuck down[12], the State made another called the Balanced Treatment of Creation Science and Evolution Science Act. According to this Act, Creation Science includes the scientific evidence and inferences that indicate the insufficiency of mutation and natural selection in bringing about development of all living kinds from a single organism, separate ancestry for man and apes and relatively recent inception of earth and living kinds. This Act was also struck down in McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education[13]. Similar Act of Louisiana State was struck down by the majority decision of US Supreme Court in Edwards v. Aguillard[14] but two judges including the Chief Justice Rehnquist strongly dissented.

It is against this background, that we examine the story of *Daśāvatāra* in Indian mythology. In this context, Śankarācarya's words that Scriptures are informatory but not mandatory[15], that scriptural statements cannot impart power to a thing[16], that scriptures do not enslave[17] and that scriptures state only general propositions and not particular event or thing[18] are relevant as guides to the course of our inquiry. We feel that these accounts follow the practice of ancient Indian poets that great works should have a hidden meaning[19]. We look at the account of *Daśāvatara* as if the person creating the account was conveying the story of biological and social evolution of man for the layman also who would have missed the indirect and philosophical exposition in the *Upaniṣads.*

The ten *Avatāras* have a slight variation in various accounts[20]. The difference is with regard to eighth and ninth. While some put Balarāma as eighth and Buddha as ninth, others put Kṛṣṇa as eighth while retaining Buddha at ninth place. Still others, put Kṛṣṇa as eighth and Balarāma as ninth ignoring Buddha altogether. These variations do not make a substantive difference to our reasoning.

Taking the sequence as Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma/Kṛṣṇa, Buddha/Balarāma and Kalki[21] we notice the following points of incongruity if the account is taken at face value as describing the ten *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu :

1. The narration begins with *Pralaya*[22], the Great Flood and ends with Kalki, the future *Avatara*[23]. The ninth *Avatara*, Buddha, is historical and is of the least anitquity of the first nine. Therefore, it is apparent that the narration is sequential. Yet, we find that Kṛṣṇa and Balarama were contemporary[24] and grew up together as brothers. Paraśurāma was contemporary not only with Rama[25], but also with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma[26]. Since the *Avataras* are complete incarnations as opposed to *Aveśa* and *Aṃśāvatara*[27], the simultaneous appearance of two and even three of them militates against the sequence.

2. Jayadeva, a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa, in his *Daśavatara Stotra*[28] does not include Kṛṣṇa. He mentions Balarama as the eight and Budhha as the ninth incarnation. Simultaneously, the invocation attached to the Stotra is to Kṛṣṇa. How did Jayadeva reconcile with the thought that Kṛṣṇa was not one of the ten complete *Avataras* ?

In the face of these issues, let us presume that the narration of *Daśavatāra* is an account of evolution and has been given the guise of a story of incarnations to make it attractive to the layman. Then the ten Avatāras can be explained as stages in the biological and socio-political evolution of human beings as shown below :

1. Matsya : The first incarnation, as fish indicates that life began in the sea. This *avatāra* appearing at the time of *Pralaya*, the Great Flood shows that the narrator is talking about the beginning.

2. Kūrma : This can be seen as an indication that in the next step amphibians evolved from the marine creatures.

3. Varaha : The wild boar is a land mammal and a herbivore. This will appear to show that in the next stage, herbivorous mammals appeared.

4. Nṛsiṃha : The lion form can be taken as symbolic of the carnivores. The carnivores evolved as their food, the herbivores, were now in plenty.

5. Vāmana : He is like a dwarf, that is, similar to a human being but smaller in size. This can be taken as an approximate description of apes within the bounds of poetic licence.

6. Paraśurāma : He represents the intelligent man who has

developed weapons but is still law unto himself. He is not yet subject to a ruler. The State has not yet come into being.

7. Rāma : He is Rājā Rāma, or Rāma the King. The State has come into being as the enunciator and enforcer of law. With his appearance, Paraśurama, the law unto himself retreats into the forest[28]. Even today, those who do not want to submit to State authority and to law, retreat to the forests.

8. Balarama : He is known as Haladhara, the plough-bearer and this is the name by which Jayadeva refers to him in *Daśavatara Stotra*. He represents the agriculturist man. Agriculture requires that the rights of an individual over property should be ascertainable and enforceable so that he who sows has a right to reap. That requires authority of a ruler. Hence, it could come only after Rāma *Rājya* has been established.

It we take Kṛṣṇa in this place, the situation remains the same. Kṛṣṇa represents the pastoral man. Again, protection of a ruler is required to have a herd and call it one's own.

9. Buddha : Before rule of law and evolution of agriculture, man was a hunter/gatherer. In the absence of any method of preserving food, regular killing of animals was necessary. Once state protection made it possible to have settled agriculture, grain could be stored to tide over lean periods. Hence, we have Buddha's injunction against killing of animals even in the name of religious sacrifice. Thus, the assured food supply has made it possible to evolve a moral law encompassing compassion even for the animals.

10. Kalki : Man has biologically evolved from the apes, has developed intelligence, has created rule of law, has food security through agriculture and has developed moral code. Yet, there are some who would not follow the right path. To save the world from destruction by these, Kalki comes. This is more like a fore-warning against self-destructive tendencies of mankind.

Seen in this light, the account of *Daśavatara* explains in a broad Darwinian way, not only the biological evolution of man from marine life through amphibians, herbivores, carnivores and apes but also roughly indicates the social and political evolution after intelligent man came into being.

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17. *ibid.*

18. *ibid.* P. 45

19. "Descriptions of this sort not infrequently occupy so much space that the subject of the poem disappears into the back-ground so much so that the contents of may cantos of an epic or of books of a romance *at a stretch become capable of two distinct interpretations.* Not to speak of employing artificially internally rhyming and artistically constituted metres, the use of rare words and long compounds of words with more than one meaning, strange play of words, strenuous efforts made throughout to express nothing in a straightforward way, with a desire to conceal as much as possible or to express an idea in a round-about way and that too in the form of a riddle. *The climax of artistry is attained when a poet succeeds in making one and the same sentence or verse express two different ideas at one and the same time !"* (Emphasis added) Winternitz, M., *History of Indian Literature,* Vol. III, Part I, Translated from German by Subhadra Jha, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1963, P. 3

20. *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Pub. Motilal Banarasidas, Second Reprint 1985, Vol. I Part I, P. 119

21. *ibid.,* P. 120

22. *Bhāgavata,* 8.24

23. *Agni Purāṇa,* Ch. 16

24. *Bhāgavata,* 10.8

25. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,* Bālakāṅda, 75

26. *Bhāgavat,* 10.84; and

    Mbh., Udyog, Ch. 96

27. Vettam Mani, *Puranic Encyclopaedia,* Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi 1993, P. 78

28. *Gītagovindakāvyam,* Comments by Kedarnath Sharma, Pub. Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1997, P.2; and The earliest English Translation of Jayadeva's *Daśāvatāra Stotra*

seems to be in "On the Chronology of the Hindus", Written in 1788 by Sir William Jones, President, Asiatic society. Published in "Asiatic Researches or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia", 1884, Calcutta, Vol. II, P. 94.

29. *Valmiki Ramāyaṇa, Supra* 75.22

IDENTIFICATION OF ĀDITYAVARDHANA OF THE MANDSAUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀRĀJA GAURI

Ashvini Agrawal

The discovery of two inscriptions of a certain king Gauri of the Mānavāyani[1] family, apparently a feudatory of the Aulikaras of Daśapura, one from Choti Sadri[2] near Nimach (Neemuch) on Ajmer-Khandwa line and the other from Mandsaur[3] (Mandasor), the District headquarters of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, have thrown welcome light on the history of this region during the Gupta-Aulikara period on one hand and have posed some more problems on the other. The Choti Sadri inscription, which is dated Mālava Saṁvat 547 (A.D. 490-91) records the construction of a temple of the Mother-goddess by Mahārāja Gauri for the merit of his parents and his own merit. The inscription also provides the genealogy of Mahārāja Gauri's family, the names of four of whose predecessors are mentioned viz. Puṇyasoma, Rājyavardhana, Rāṣṭra(vardhana) and Yaśogupta[4]. The general description of these five kings and the use of the lower title Mahārāja by Gauri indicates that they were the local rulers of the region, probably feudatories of some sovereign power whose name is not mentioned in this inscription.

The second inscription that was discovered from Mandsaur itself is undated but belongs to the same ruler of the Mānavāyani family namely Mahārāja Gauri, thus indicating that the two records are contemporary as they were incised in the lifetime of the same ruler. Though the inscription is fragmentary yet it provides valuable historical information. Two of the predecessors of Gauri viz. Rāṣṭravardhana and Yaśogupta are mentioned in this record also where as the name of Rājyavardhana appears to have lost in the broken portion of the inscription and only the last part vardhana survives in the beginning of line 4[5]. The purpose of the inscription appears to be to record the excavation of a tank at Daśapura by Mahārāja Gauri for the merit of his deceased mother Hariśūrā, thus indicating Gauri's association with Daśapura. The most important reference of historical importance in this epigraph, however, is the mention of a king named Ādityavardhana as the suzerain ruler in the second verse after the benedictory verse in praise of god Viṣṇu. It reads, "*Jitva ripu-balaṁ saṁkkhe (khye) ramyaṁ pura[ṁ*] daśādi...... [na]ra-vyāgghre narendr-*

Ādityavarddhane[11]”[6] i.e. “When king Ādityavardhana, the best among men, is protecting the city (its name having the word) Daśa at the beginning, after having routed the enemy's army in the battle". The identity of this ruler Ādityavardhana has been a problem. Who this ruler was and what was his relationship with Gauri ?

D.C. Sircar, who first edited the inscription, was not very sure of the identity of Ādityavardhana and his relation with Mahārāja Gauri. Of the three possibilities suggested by him, he himself rejected the first that it may be another name or title of a Hūṇa King Toramāṇa or Mihirakula. Of the other two, one was that Ādityavardhana belonged to the Aulikara family and ruled at Daśapura, king Gauri being his relative or feudatory and second that it may have been another name of Gauri himself. The last suggestion was made in view of the fact that the name of any suzerain of Gauri is not mentioned in the Choti Sadri inscription of M.S. 547, which gives the complete genealogy of the Mānavāyani family.[8] When Sircar made this suggestion, it was generally believed in the light of Eran Boar inscription of the first year of Toramāṇa's reign[9], that the Hūṇas had occupied the entire Malwa from about A.D. 490 and continued to rule for a considerable time. The claim of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana to have humbled the pride of the Hūṇa ruler Mihirakula by subjecting him to the abject position of continuously bowing his head in his feet[10], though clearly indicated the short duration of the Hūṇa rule in Central India, yet in the absence of any knowledge about the pedigree of Yaśodharman his claim was not taken seriously by many of the scholars and in spite of several conjectural identifications he was taken to be an upstart, who appeared and disappeared from the horizon of Malwa like a meteor[11]. The discovery of the Risthal Stone Slab inscription of Mālava *Saṁvat* 572[12] of Prakāśadharman has put both these doubts to rest. It provides us the full genealogy of the Aulikara family of Prakāśadharman, five of whose predecessors are mentioned in this record and also informs us about his brilliant victory over the Hūṇa emperor Toramāṇa sometime prior to A.D. 514. All the scholars now agree that Yaśodharman was the successor of Prakāśadharman[13], thus ending all speculation about the duration of the Aulikara rule in Central India. In the light of this fresh evidence it is now clear that Mahārāja Gauri could not be a sovereign ruler of Daśapura and cannot be identified with Ādityavardhana of the Mandsaur inscription.

When commenting on the Choti Sadri and the Mandsaur inscription of Gauri, V.V. Mirashi had first suggested that Adityavadhana was a predecessor of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana, the latter being a successor of Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Avanti mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. He further remarked that since Gauri was ruling over Daśapura Adityavadhana could not have his capital over there and in the light of the fact that Dravyavardhana is known to be the king of Avanti, these rulers seem to have shifted their capital to Avanti sometime after the reign of Skandagupta, the imperial Gupta ruler. He thus provided the following line of kings ruling from Avanti: Ādityavadhana, Dravyavardhana and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana[14]. After the discovery of the Risthal Stone inscription he changed his view to suggest that Ādityavadhana "may have been a collateral of the *vardhana* branch who held a small principality in the kingdom of the Aulikaras"[15]. However, none of these suggestions carries weight as they are based on mere conjecture without any evidence to support it. We do not know even the definite identity of Dravyavardhana much less his relationship with Ādityavadhana and secondly the latter as a Mahārājādhirāja could not have been ruling over a small principality as a collateral of the Aulikara house of Prakāśadharman[16].

Buddha Prakash, while rejecting the view of Mirashi, maintained that *vardhana* ending names were quite common in that age and there is no need to postulate a connection among all the persons having such names. In his view Ādityavardhana was not related either to Yaśodharman or to Dravyavardhana because there is a gap of about four decades between the first and the second[17]. S.R. Goyal originally accepted the possibility of Ādityavardhana being the immediate predecessor of Yaśodharman[18] but changed his view after the discovery of the Risthal Stone inscription of Prakāśadharman. He says that there could be no direct relation between Ādityavardhana and the Aulikara line of Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman. He says that Ādityavardhana may be a member of Gauri's family who may be related to the house of Yaśodharman[19]. Ajay Mitra Shastri subscribed to the view that Ādityavardhana might be a collateral member of the *vardhana* line of the Aulikaras[20]. But he has also suggested the possibility of his being a brother of Rājyavardhana, father of Prakāśadharman[21]. All these explanations have failed to clinch the issue of the identity of Ādityavadhana.

Both D.C. Sircar and Ajay Mitra Shastri have been within an ace of the solution to this problem. Sircar observed, "In this connection, the secondary name of Yaśodharman, viz. Viṣṇuvardhana, which is rather peculiar for the Aulikara family, is interesting to note. Did he get it from his association with the Mānavāyanis ? Since, however, his principal name, viz. Yaśodharman, is also equally peculiar for the earlier Aulikaras with name ending in *varman*, it is not possible to be definite on this point"[22].

He, however, failed to draw a parallel between the names Viṣṇuvardhana and Ādityavadhana. Ajay Mitra Shastri has been even nearer than Sircar to the solution when he observed, "It is not unlikely that like Yaśodharman, who had Viṣṇuvardhana as another name, his predecessor Prakāśadharman also might have had another *vardhana*-ending name which may be brought to light with future discoveries. It is interesting to remember in this connection that in case of Yaśodharman also the name Viṣṇuvardhana is known only from an inscription of the family of his *Rājasthānīya* (D.C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions*, I.,P. 413, v.6), and is conspicuously absent in his own inscriptions on the victory pillars"[23]. Here the name of Ādityavadhana, the overlord of Mahārāja Gauri narrowly escaped the attention of the great scholar.

The epigraphic evidence on the point is so clear that it is but natural to suggest that Ādityavadhana mentioned in the Mandsaur inscription of Mahārāja Gauri is no other than Prakāśadharman of the Aulikara dynasty ruling at Daśapura. For Gauri the only date we have is Mālava *Saṁvat* 547 (A.D. 490) from his Choti Sadri inscription. His Mandsaur inscription, which is undated, cannot be far removed from this date as both belong to one and the same person. On the other hand the only known date for Prakāśadharman from his Risthal Stone inscription is Mālava *Saṁvat* 572 (A.D. 514) when he was ruling as sovereign ruler at Daśapura. By this time he had already defeated the Hūṇa emperor Toramāṇa and had evidently thrown off the yoke of the Gupta sovereignty for there is no reference to the latter in his inscription. It clearly indicates that in contrast with his predecessors who occupied a subordinate position, as is evident by their inferior titles, Prakāśadharman had emerged as a paramount ruler in Western Malwa. The time span between the known dates of Gauri and Prakāśadharman is so small that it is impossible to postulate the existence of another paramount ruler at Daśapura who could be the overlord of Gauri besides the Aulikara emperor Prakāśadharman, especially when we know that as many as five predecessors of the latter had been ruling over Mandsaur. Therefore, the only possibility left is that Ādityavardhana was a secondary name of Prakāśadharman. The latter seems to have had this name in the same manner as his successor Yaśodharman had a secondary name Viṣṇuvardhana[24]. It may be noted that except for the last two rulers of this dynasty, Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman, all other rulers had a *vardhana*-ending name. It, therefore, stands to reason that they too had secondary names or titles that had *vardhana* ending. Moreover, as the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman was put up by Dakṣa, a *Rājasthānīya* of the former, who caused a great well to be excavated[25], the Mandasor inscription of Mahārāja Gauri also refers to the excavation of a tank at Daśapura by the latter, as a feudatory of Ādityavardhana , for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased mother Hariśūrā[26]. Taken together the entire evidence sets at rest all speculation about the identity of Ādityavardhana, who should properly be called Prakāśadharman Ādityavardhana in the same fashion as his successor was known as Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana.

References :

1. Corrected by D.C. Sircar from the original Māṇavāyaṇi to Mānavāyani. *Epigraphia Indica, (EI), XXX, p. 124.*
2. D.C. Sircar, *EI*, XXX, pp. 120-27.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-32.

4. Sircar has read the name as Yaśagupta and corrected it to Yaśogupta. However, the plate shows a faint superscript mark for vowel *o* indicating that the original name was mentioned as Yaśogupta only. *Cf. EI, XXX*, plate facing p. 124, line 10.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

8. This view of Sircar has been followed by C.B. Trivedi, *Daśapura* (in Hindi), Bhopal, 1979, pp. 42-44.

9. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, (Fleet, 1888 ed.), pp. 158 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, pp, 146-47.

11. *Cf.* R.C. Majumdar, *History & Culture of Indian People*, Vol. III, *The Classical Age*, Bombay, 1970 (3rd Ed.), p. 40.

12. *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (JESI)*, X, pp. 93 ff.; V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Accient Indian History*, Bombay, 1984,. pp. 27 ff.

13. For details *see ibid*, and Ashvini Agrawal, *Rise and Fall of the Imperial Guptas*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 250 ff.

14. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, Nagpur, 1968, pp. 223-229. Also, *Bhārati Bhānam–Light of Indology*, ed. S. Bhaskaran Nair, Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 405-426 & *Indological Research Papers*, Nagpur, PP. 98-120.

15. *Studies in Ancient Indian History*, Bombay, 1984, pp. 38-39.

16. For a detailed discussion on the identity of Dravyavardhana and criticism of this view *see* Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Prācī Prabhā-Perspectives in Indology*, ed. D.C. Bhattacharyya and Devendra Handa, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 163-175.

17. *Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, Agra, 1965, pp. 96-97.

18. *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, p. 367.

19. *Gupta aur Vākāṭaka Sāmarājya kā yuga*, Meerut, 1988, pp. 351-356.

20. *Prācī Prabhā*, p. 168.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 175,. fn. 55.

22. *EI*, XXX, p. 131.

23. *Op. cit.*, p. 174, fn. 43.

24. It may be pointed out that like Ajay Mitra Shastri, J.F. Fleet had also failed to identify Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana as two names of the same ruler and considered them as two different persons. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 150-152.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 154, L. 19.

26. *EI*, XXX, p. 132.

SANSKRIT ŚĀRADĀ INSCRIPTIOINS OF KASHMIR, HIMACHAL PRADESH AND NWFP (GANDHARA) - A LITERARY STUDY

B. K. Kaul Deambi

The Śāradā inscriptions though small in number and generally brief in content throw interesting light on the contemporary state of Sanskrit learning in the places of their origin. The inscriptions of Kashmir, it is true, do not add much to what we already know about the vast Sanskrit literature of the valley but those from Chamba and Kangra in Himachal Pradesh are particularly important since they in the absence of any extant literary record form the only means of studying the nature and the development of the Sanskrit literature in the two ancient hill states. We discuss below the literary content of the important Śāradā inscriptions of Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh and see what light they throw on the contemporary literary activities.

KASHMIR

Kashmir also called the Śāradā *maṇḍala* or the land of Sarasvatī has been the home of Sanskrit learning and has made valuable contribution to the Sanskrit literature in all its branches. It is singularly unfortunate that Kashmir which produced vast and rich literature should have yielded a very few Śāradā epigraphs though pretty large number of them was available in the valley in the 12th century when Kalhaṇa wrote his *Rājataraṅginī*. The extant records which are generally brief and fragmentary in character and dedicatory in nature do not furnish name of any poet or a literary work but they furnish proof of the common man's commendable knowledge of Sanskrit language. Written in correct Sanskrit except for a few mistakes here and there, they bear testimony to the average writer's sound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The two brief records from the remote territory of Wadwan near Kishtwar in the Doda district are particularly noteworthy as they would show that even the common herdsmen living in the far flung areas of Kashmir possessed reasonable knowledge of Sanskrit.[1]

Among the extant records only the Arigom (Badgam district) and the Khunmoh (Pulwama district) stone inscriptions are better preserved and some what detailed in content. The Arigom inscription consists of two verses, one in *śloka* and the other in *śārdūlvikrīdita* metre. Being dedicatory in nature it possesses little literary value.[2]

The Khunmoh inscription consists of nine verses mostly narrative in character. Except the verse seven which describes the austerities performed by certain ascetic Gammatisodaka, the inscription does not possess any literary interest. The verse is written in the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and contains a beautiful instance of the figure of *arthantaranyāsa*. The verse reads.

जित्वा मारं प्रबलतमसं बद्धपद्मासनस्थ-

स्स्मृत्वा ध्यानमलुठितपदमक्षयं सेवमानः।

काले तेनैवेह कलियुगे लब्धमार्गश्शिवस्य

सत्यदार्ढ्ये किमपि न पदं सिद्ध्यते सर्व लोके।

"Having conquered Māra (Satan) of powerful darkness, seated in firm padmāsana posture he engaged himself in meditation desirous of attaining that state of imperishableness which knows no fall and in fullness of time, he found his way to Śiva in the Kaliyuga by means even of that contemplation. For what position is there in the whole universe which cannot be achieved by firmness in truth."[3]

CHAMBA

The ancient hill state of Chamba in Himachal Pradesh has yielded a good number of Śāradā records but only a few of these are detailed and well preserved. Among the extant inscriptions only three are in verse and the rest in prose. Those in verse include (1) the Sarahan Praśasti (2) Devi-ri-kothi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla and (3) the Mulakihar fountain inscription.

The Sarahan Praśasti[4]

It is written in elegant Sanskrit poetry and in beautiful hand and consists of 22 stanzas. Except the first three and the last stanzas which are benedictory and the last 21st which records the erection of a Śiva temple by a certain ruling chief Sātyaki in memory of his beloved wife Samaprabhā, the rest are devoted to the praise and description of the beauty of Samaprabhā in the traditional kāvya style. The language is simple and refined. The whole poem is written in a variety of metres. Besides the poet has sought to embellish his poem by the dextrous use of figures of speech. *Anuprāsa* has been freely used. An illustration of this figure may be noted in the following verse where the repetition of *bha, la, ka, ma* produces sweet melodious effect.

असीत्प्रशस्त-गुण-गौरव-वृत्त युक्त-

पर्युल्ल सद्विमलिमाकर-राजि-शुद्धः।

श्रीभोगतो भुवन-भूपण-भूत-मूर्ति-

स्सुव्यक्त-मौक्तिक-मणि-प्रतिमXपृथिव्याम्॥

"Three was on the earth, illustrious Bhogaṭa, endowed with laudable virtues, dignity and deportment, pure like the sickle of shining moon (lit. like the sickle of the glittering shudders of brightness) whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls"

Among the figures of sense or the *arthālaṅkaras, upmā* and *utprekśā* are predominant. A beautiful instance of *śiliṣṭha-upmā* is noticed in the following verse where the comparison of Somaprabhā with the Muse of a good poet is most striking and the epithets chosen can be applied to both the Muse and the queen.

नाना विद्यालङ्कृति-सन्निवेश-विशेप-रम्या गुणशालिनी या।

मनोहरत्वं सुतरामवाप सचेतसां सत्कवि - भारतीव॥

"She exceedingly lovely and rich in virtues, attained by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet, which exceedignly lovely and rich in the (three *kāvya*) *guṇas* attains by the skilful use of various figures of speech *(alaṅkāra)* still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste."

As an illustration of *utprekśā* may be quoted the following verse which contains a novel description of *trivali*, a mark of female beauty.

यस्याश्च मध्यं स्तन-भार-भृत्या मा भूद्विभङ्गXकृशता कुलस्य।

एतस्य शङ्कामिति बिभ्रतेव धात्रा वली - दाम - चयेन बद्धम्॥

"The creator, who was afraid that by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds."

The other figures of speech used are *rūpaka, atiśayokti* and *sambhāvanā.* In the inscription the word *ātmaja* has been used in the sense of love, apparently as pointed out by Vogel on the analogy of *manasija, manobhāva* etc.

Sarahan Praśasti can rightly be regarded as a specimen of good Sanskrit poetry. Vogel was so fascinated by the inscription that he called it a "love poem" carved on stone.

The Devi-ri-kothi Fountain Inscription[5]

This inscription, though possessing great literary merit is unfortunately sadly mutilated. Of the 17 verses the first nine are completely lost while the rest are preserved in part but the missing portions have been admirably restored by Vogel. The extant portion contains (1) a brief euology of certain Rājānaka Nāgapāla (2) a pathetic description of the Rājānaka's mother Balhā who was prevented by her son from committing *satī* after the death of her husband (3) an interesting statement that Balhā sought to ensure the future bliss of her deceased lord by erecting a fountain slab and (4) the date and the writer's name. The inscription is particularly remarkable for verses 12 and 13 which contain the description of the austerities and acts of piety performed by Balhā after she was prevented by her son from following her husband into death.

> (पितरि पर) मुपेते लोकमस्तोक शोकस्सपदि पतिवियोगा (न्मूर्छितां मातरं) स्वाम्।
> अनुगमन-विधानाद्वारयामास कृच्छात्सनय (विनयशाली बाल) केनानुजेन॥
>
> संज्ञामवाच्य सततं नि (यतोपवा) स-तीव्रव्रतैनिज-तनुं तनुतां नयन्ती।
> वृद्धि नि (नायव) र दानमसौ सुतौ च, दीने दयां च मुखैरिणि (चैव) भक्तिम्॥

"After his father had gone to the next world, he that abode of good deportment and modesty overwhelmed with grief, with difficulty and through his younger brother (who was still) an infant held back from following him (into death) his mother instantly fainting at the seperation from her lord. She recovered her consciousness and hence forth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Kṛṣṇa."

The instability of the world is beautifully described thus :

जवन-पवन-वेल्लल्लोल-कल्लो(ल) माला-प्रतिमित-शशिलेखा-चंचलं जीवलोकम्।

प्रति-(पदम) ववुद्धयाचीकरत्साथ बल्हा निजपति सुकृतार्थं पुष्कराधारमेतम्॥

"By Balhā, who at every step had conceived the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this fountain made for the sake of the bliss of her lord."

As regards versification we find each verse written in a separate metre. Thus while the 10th verse is in śikharini, 11th in *upajāti,* the 12th is in *mālinī.*

The poem has all the qualities of an ornate *kāvya* and Kamalalanchana, its writer, can rightly be regarded a good poet with sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and rhetorics.

Mulkihar Fountain Inscription[6]

This inscription, too, like the one noted above, is badly defaced and only a few verses are preserved completely. The mutilated condition of the inscription is much to be regretted as it appears to have contained a poem of considerable poetic merit. The inscription, which originally must have contained 31 stanzas may be roughly divided into three parts. The first part contains three benedictory stanzas wherein we have invocation to various deities. The second contains the ganealogy of Rājānaka Gayāpāla and the third gives an account of the setting up of a fountain slab by the Rājānaka. Of the three parts, the second is the most important as it contains a few specimens of beautiful Sanskrit poetry. Thus for example, the following description of the beauty of the queen Bappikā followed by the pathetic account of her passing away is very exquisite.

कुन्द-कुड़मल-दती सुमध्यमा फुल्लपंकजमुखी पिक-स्वरा।
नील-नीरज-समान लोचना भप्पिकेत्यभवद (स्य चात्मजा)॥
(सा प्रयाता) तृ (त्रि) दशपति-वधूनां रूप-सौभाग्य-वृत्तिं (नियतमव)
(निमाप्ताशा) परित्यज्य जेतुं विजित-मनुज-लोका स्वर्ग-भूमि (मवाप)॥

"He had also a daughter, Bhappikā by name, with teeth like jasmine buds, a slender waist, a face like a full blown lotus, the voice of a cuckoo and eyes resembling dark blue water lilies. She ..... passed away. Certainly, having attained her wish and conquered the world of men, she left the earth and reached the abode of heaven, to transcend in beauty, loveliness and manners the women of the chief of the gods."

The cruelty of fate in separating the two lovers is exquisitely portrayed in the following partly preserved verse.

> ....न प्रणयिता न सत्यं नो .... न च मधुरवाक्यामृत-रसः।
> खलस्येतच्चिते निवसति (क) दाचिद्बत विधेः
> (यथा) दुष्टादुष्टान्नयति सम-वृ(त्या यम-पुरीम्) ॥

..........neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor.......... the nectar juice of sweet words-alas (none of these things) ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same manner to Yama's town."

Again the following pathetic description of Rājānaka's grief over the passing away of his beloved is equally worth admiring.

> .... नयनाभिराममुत्संगां प्रियतमां जनताभिनन्धाम्।
> भत्तुर्व्ययूजदिमां विपमXकृतान्तXपर्वात्ययश्शशिकला मिव (घर्म रश्मेः) ॥
> .... वो ग्निस्समान-दुXखानुज-दुख-भीरोंः।
> तिद्रोदनाम्भस्स्नुति-सिच्यमानश्शनैश्शशाम प्रिय-(बा) न्धवस्य॥

..........thus hostile Fate separated her-his most belovd, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all mankind-from her husband, even as the passing of the *parvan* (separates) the moon-sickle from the hot-rayed (sun).......... the fire (of grief) of her dear relation .... was slowly allayed besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes."

The poem is written in a variety of metres and the figures of speech have also been judiciously used making the sense more clear than obscuring it. The entire poem is couched in a simple, lucid and elegant language.

Thus the three inscriptions in verse, noted above, impress us most as beautiful love poems with predominant sentiment of pious conjugal devotion elegantly expressed in a poetic language which is simple and refined and embellished with rhetorical ornaments. Possessed, as they are, with all the requisites of a good *kavya*, the *praśastis* prove the existence of developed *kavya* literature in ancient Chamba of which unfortunately, only three specimens have been bequeathed to us.

We next come to the prose compositions of which the copper plate inscriptions furnish best examples. The Sanskrit prose employed in these title deeds is generally simple and chaste and the long compounds are resorted to only occasionally in the genealogical portions. We may quote below a few lines from the Chamba copper plate inscription of Somavarman and Āsaṭa (11th century) as illustrative of the contemporary prose composition of the 11th century in ancient Chamba.

> समर-भर भग्नारूग्णारुष्क-तुरुष्क विपुल-बल-विशाल
> सा(शा) खिनः कुरुक्षेत्रे राहूपराग-समय-समर्थि (र्पि) त
> मद-गन्ध-लुब्ध-मधुकर-कुलाकुल-कपोल-फलक-करि-घटा-
> दान प्रीति-प्रसन्न-मानस-भगवद्भास्कराभिनन्दित निजान्वय-
> प्रसूति-परम्परा-सार-करिवर्पा मिधानाभ्युदयस्य तत्काल-
> मिलित-निखिल-महीपाल-मुख-मशी (पी) कूर्चिका-कीर्ति-
> सुरभित-सप्तभुवनाभोगस्य....................[7]

While the prose employed in the Chamba title deeds is generally of a standard type, the prose of the fountain inscriptions which form the bulk of our records from this ancient hill state is highly corrupt and full of vernacular influence. However, they are very important for the study of the transition of Sanskrit to local dialects.

As an illustration may be cited the following a few lines from the Luj fountain inscription which is comparatively better preserved and carefully incised.

> श्री-महाराजा जासठ-प्रथम-वर्पा-थापिता तत्रकाले भाटली-भटगिरि सुत। नागरा। महाप्रजा। परलोकार्थे वरुण देव थापितं। इदं भोग्य नाना भोग समुत्पन्य। पोशमासे थापिंत इति; शुभम्। वोड़ई कलोणे सतघर-देव-पुत्र-देव। महाप्रजा। जोद धानिकं समुत्पन्य मुल द्र २०।[8]

KANGRA

Kangra the erstwhile hill state which formed part of the great empire of Trigarta has yielded only a few Sanskrit records in Śaradā. Of the extant records only the two *praśastis* of Baijnath which record the construction of a temple of Śiva Vaidyanatha and pretty large number of donations made to it are more detailed and important from literary point of view. We discuss the literary merit of these inscriptions in brief below :

The *praśastis* are written by a poet named Rama who appears to have been a good poet though young in age *(prathama vayasi)*. He was the son of Bhṛṅgaka and Śṛṅgāra. Bhṛṅgaka was himself a poet and also held the office of *Pramātṛ* in Kashmir. It may be that Bhṛṅgaka owed his talent to Kashmir which was a flourishing centre of Sanskrit learning at the time and Rama inherited the same from his father.

The *praśastis* speak of a great poetic skill on the part of the author Rāma. The Śiva-Gaurī *stotra* at the beginning of *praśasti* No. 1 is notable for poetic ingenuity as each verse of the *stotra* can be applied both to Śiva and Gaurī.[9] As for example :

मुहुस्समुद्रासिन एवं युद्धक्रीडा निकृत्तासुर सर्मपस्य

सत्यं हरेरप्युपरि त्वमेव सन्तिष्ठसे निष्ठुर वीर्य धाम्नः ॥[10]

"(In case of Śiva) Thou alone standest even above Hari, who again and again takes repose in the ocean, who drank the stream of blood from (the body of) the demon slain in a playful fight and who possesses a brilliancy of fierce strength."

"(In case of Gaurī) Thou alone ridest, indeed, even on a lion, who again and again is lying (curled up) like a ring who drinks the stream of the blood of those slain in the battle play and who possesses fierce power."

The following verse which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences testifies the poet's commendable hold over language.

काष्ठोद्धीपन कर्मठा जगति या या निर्निमेपेक्षणै

स्सत्पक्षे रूपजीव्यते द्विजजनं या बिभ्रती शंस्य ते।

देवस्याहुतिलम्पटस्य परमा-पुष्टिर्यतो जायते

ताभिर्मूर्तिभिरष्टाभि र्भवतु वो भूत्यै भवानी विभुः ॥[11]

"May the lord of Bhavānī grant you happiness through those eight bodies (of his) viz. that which in this world is active in kindling wood (*agni* and *yajmāna*), that which is active in illuminating the quraters (of the) world (*sūrya* and *candramā*), that on which the strong finned (fish) endowed with never twinkling eyes subsist (*apa*), that on which gods live, whose adherents are virtuous (*akaṣa*) that which is praised as maintaining twice born men (*pṛthivī*), that which is praised as carrying the birds, that through which the deity, greedy of offering attains the highest growth (vāyu).

The following exquisite description of Kīragrāma (now Baijnath) is worth quoting.

शैलस्या ङ्क चलित्वा रुचिर नववया खेलतीय सहेलं
कुल्या कन्येव यत्र स्फुरदुरलहरी कन्दुका विन्दुकाख्या॥
कीरग्रामोभिरामो गुणगण निलयो वर्ततेधित्रिगतं
सोऽयं राजानकेन प्रवलभुजयुजारक्षितो लक्ष्मणेन॥[12]

"There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kiragrama, the home of numerous virtues, where the river called Binduka (now Binova) leaping from the lap of the mountain with glittering broad waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (who jumping from the lap of her nurse gracefully sports). That (village) is protected by the strongarmed *Rājānaka* Lakṣamaṇa."

The poet in his own ingenious poetic way provides a peep into the moral character of the ruling chiefs and the common subjects.

अद्यापि विस्मापयितार एते विघ्यन्ते एवेश्वरभक्तिमन्तः।
विचित्र चारित्रनिधि र्यथैप राजानको लक्ष्मणचन्द्रनामा॥
केदारयात्रां विरचयय येन विशोधनी प्राक्तनदुष्कृतस्य।
इत परं सर्वपरस्त्रियो मे स्वसार इत्येव कृता प्रतिज्ञा॥[13]

It has been a general practice to take some vow after the performance of a pilgrimage. The ruling chief Lakṣamaṇa Candra following the practice took a vow after his pilgrimage to Kedaranatha that thenceforth he would treat his women subjects as his sisters implying thereby that the ruling chiefs had no qualms in playing with the chastity of the wives of their subjects. This fact has been pointed out by the poet thus :

अध्येश्वरा मन्दपराक्रमत्वं मत्वा विपक्षैरवधारितज्ञाः।
वास्तव्यनारी हठसङ्गमेन पुराधिपत्यं सफल विदन्ति॥[14]

As a matter of fact for the ruling barons there could be no austerity to perform more severe than giving up the despicable practice of pressing the bosoms of the wives of others, especially when the chief was in fresh youth, endowed with beautiful personality and unfettered mastery over a town.

नवं वयो रुपमधिश्रिदातृता पुराधिपत्यं वहवः प्रियङ्कराः।

तथापि चेतᳶपरदारवर्जि चे त्किमस्ति दुस्साध्यमतᳶपरं तपः ॥

राजानकस्य प्रविशुद्धबुद्धे पाणिᳵकृपाण ग्रहण प्रवीणः।
विवर्जयामास विगर्हितानि तस्यान्य नारी स्तन मर्दनानिः ॥[15]

As a contrast the poet presents the impeccable character of the builders of the Śiva temple.

देसेत्र वणिक प्रसिद्ध स्सिद्धात्मजो मन्युकनामधेयः।
छिन्नेत्यविच्छिन्नमहेशभक्तेमातावदातचरितस्ययस्य ॥

यस्याहुकाख्योस्त्यविभक्त वित्तौ भ्राता कनिष्ठस्सुकृतैकनिष्ठः।
व्यग्रासमग्रातिथिपूजनाय गुल्हेति गहारिहिता च भार्या ॥

भक्ति द्रुवाटेभसलेन तेन सभ्रातृकेन त्रिपुरान्तकस्य।
द्वारस्थ गङ्गा यमुनादि मूर्तिः कृता पुरींय सह मण्डपेन ॥[16]

Both the merchant builders Manyuka and Āhuka of the temple are described as men of spotless character. The younger one lived amicably with his elder brother without apportioning the property (*avibhakta vitto*) and even the wife Gulhā was a pious lady bereft of any vanity of wealth or property and always busy in true Indian fashion entertaining the guests with all devotion at her house.

The *praśastis* contain all the qualities of ornate Sanskrit *kavya* betraying poet's sound knowledge of Sanskrit prosody and rhetorics and his commendable hold on language and grammar.

NWFP (GANDHĀRA)

The north west frontier province, now part of Pakistan and corresponding to acient Gandhara has yielded a few important records in Śaradā characters mostly belonging to the rulers of the famous Hindu Ṣahi dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura(modern Hund or Ohind in Peshawar district). Most of these records are very brief and dedicatory in nature and it is only the Hund slab inscription of the time of Jayapaladeva[17] that is detailed and possesses some literary value indicating the state of Sanskrit learning in this part of the country in the 10th century. The inscription consist of twelve verses all except two in *śloka* metre. The other two are in the *upajati-indravajra* and *indravajra* metres respectively. It contains an exquisite description of Udabhāṇḍapura, the famous capital of the Ṣāhis and of the river Indus on the right bank of which the city was situated. In the following verse Udabhāṇḍapura is compared to Meru on account of its having been made their home by the learned men just as the latter was made their residing place by the immortal gods and other super natural beings.

अस्त्यु-तरेणाखिल पुण्य राशेः नाम्नोदभाण्डं जगतीह सिन्धोः।
विद्व्ज्जनैर्यश्च विधाय संघं कृतास्पदं मेरुरिवामराधैः ॥[18]

Again the city is compared to the Malaya mountain, the former being served on its southern side by the waters of the Indus in the same way as the latter's side by the waters of the (western) ocean.

सेवते यस्य सततं विभागं दक्षिणं नदी।
पार्श्वंमलयशैलस्यवेलावारिनिधेखि ॥[19]

On the days of the lunar and solar eclipses the pious people of Gandhāra as in the other parts of the country desirous of earning religious merit used to have a dip in the sacred waters of the Indus. The phenomenon of the eclipse is described in the conventional manner by the poet attributing the same to the forcible seizure of the moon and the sun the demon (Rāhu) as if to bring them together

यत्र सिन्धुस्सदा लोकैस्सेव्यते पुण्यहेतुना।
सन्निहित्येव चन्द्रार्कों बलाद् गृह्णति दानवे ॥[20]★

The description of the pitiable condition of the women of the defeated enemy especially their not braiding the hair owing to seperation from their husbands is a favourite theme with the Sanskrit poets. In the following verse we have the same depiction of the wailing of the women folk of the enemies destroyed by king Bhīmadeva.

यस्य नार्यस्य सपत्नानां केशपाशं निरोदधि।
कवरी रचनाहीनं वहन्त्य घ्यापिदु खितः ॥

यस्य वैरिविलासिन्यो निर्यान्तयो नगरादिह।

इदमूर्चुमहोधानं कु (?) तो नस्संगतं त्वया ॥[21]

The Śāradā inscriptions of Vāṇhaḍaka, dated Laukika 538 or A.D. 1461 now preserved in the Peshawar Museum presents the last vestige of the Sanskrit learning in this part of the subcontinent. From the number of mistakes of language and grammar noticed in this record it would appear that the Sanskrit learning in this land of Pāṇini was generally on decline.

The benedictory verse of the inscription in *Arya* metre containing several mythological allusions like the destruction of Madhu, Mura and Naraka by Viṣṇu and the churning of the ocean is quoted below :

अतसीनवकुस्म (सुम) निभं मन्दर परिवर्त घृष्टकेयूरम।

अपहरतु दुरितमिखिलं मधुमुरनरकाखि (बा)हुयुगम्॥[22]

"May the pair of arms of the enemy of Madhu, Mura and Naraka (i.e. Visṇu) turn away all evil, that which is like a fresh *atasi* flower (and) the bracelets of which were rubbed at the turning of (the mountain) Mandāra (in the churning of the ocean)."

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2. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XI, pp. 300 ff., Kaul Deambi, *Ibid.*, pp. 107 f. and Plate.
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4. Vogel J.P.H., *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol. I, pp. 152 ff.
5. *Ibid.* pp. 209 ff.
6. *Ibid.* pp. 214 ff.
7. *Ibid.* pp. 193.
8. *Ibid.* pp. 204.
9. Bhüler, G., *Epigraphia Indica* pp. 97 ff.
10. *Ibid. Praśasti* No. I verse 7.
11. *Ibid. Praśasti* No. II verse 3.
12. *Ibid.* verse 10.
13. *Ibid. Praśasti* No. I verse 22.
14. *Ibid.* verse 24.
15. *Ibid.* verses 25-26.
16. *Ibid.* verses 27-29
17. *Journal of Central Asia* (Peshawar University, Pakistan) vol-II, No. 1, pp. 71 ff.
18. *Ibid.* verse 3.
19. *Ibid.* verse 4.
20. *Ibid.* verse 5.
21. *Ibid.* verses 9-10.
22. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol-X, p. 81.

* For the correct interpretation of this verse see Jagannath Agrawal, *JRAS*, No. 2, 1985, Pp. 177-80 and *Inscriptions of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Kashmir & Adjoining Hilly Tracts*, ICHR, New Delhi, 2001, P. 373. Editor.

MARITIME HISTORY ON THE EAST COAST OF INDIA

I. K. Sarma

The branch of Marine Archaeology, though in a nascent stage, has opened up new areas of study on the overseas trade and cultural interactions. Here I have taken stock of certain epigraphical, numismatic and glyptic evidences on the maritime trade and Sea-faring traditions of the long South-East coast of India during the early centuries A.D.

(I) SOME LITERARY DATA :

The *Ṛgveda,* the oldest scripture of India, is familiar with the word *'Samudra'.* It is difficult to think that it refers directly to sea but more broadly describes[1] the big rivers of *Sapta Sindhu.* There is a well known story of Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, who was saved by the Gods Aśvini when he was caught up in the mid-sea. This Bhujyu was stated to have been rescued in a boat with hundred ores. Sāyaṇācārya narrates the story how Aśvini went with their army in three ships and brought back Bhujyu. These ships are mentioned as *Nau*, with 100 ores (*Śatāṛtram nāvam ātasthivāsam*).

In the early historical periods, we have more clear data about the organisation of sea voyages for both cultural and commercial purposes. In the Mauryan period, Candragupta Maurya, had appointed *Nāvādhyakṣa*, Commander of the naval fleets, and an officer incharge of trade through the waters. Several port towns with convenient anchorages encouraged brisk trade. The patrons wrere religious propogators too. Besides land routes emerging from Afghanistan through Central India to the Gangetic plains, prolific material evidence is forthcoming on the routes of contact between North-West India and South-east coast[2]. Motifis of boats, sea animals depicted in the medallions of Barhut, on the pillars of the western gateway of Sanchi, scenes in Ajanta paintings and the three-mast ship in mid-sea in the painting of *Pūrṇāvadāna-Jātaka* in Cave no. 2, apart from the accounts of the Chinese travellers, Itsing and Hiuen Tsang, amply provide reliable data on overseas trade.

The long South-east coast line is dotted with several convenient anchorages starting from Tamluk (ancient Tāmralipti), in West Bengal, Konarak (Kainapara) and Tośālī (Dosarne) in

Orissa, Kalingpatnam (near Salihundam, dt. Śrikākulam), Veṅgīpura (Peddavegi), Maisolia (Machilipatnam), Utukuru-Krishnapatnam, also Dugarajupatnam (Dt. Nellore), Malange or Kadal Mallai (Mahabalipuram), Mylarpha (Mylapore, Madras), Poduke or Poduce Arikamedu (near Pondichery), Sopatana (Markanam), Kaberis (Kaveripattinam) Nikam (Negapattinam), Kayalpattinam, Peryapattinam, Colchi (Korkai), and Komari (Kanyā Kumarī) on the tip of South India.[3]

(II). CERAMICS AND SEA TRADE :

The prolific occurence of Northern Black Polished ware (=NBP) at the earliest levels of Amarāvati-Dharanikota excavations opened up fresh grounds of study. The *Mahācaitya* of *Śri Dhānya kaṭaka*, along with sites along the coastal Tamilnadu have yielded precious evidences like Punch-marked silver coins and NBP ware pottery. The places are Korkai and Alagankulam near Ramanathapuram.[4] It is of great significance to note that NBP and silver Punch - marked coins were reported from the earliest levels of the Śrīlankan Buddhist sites of Gedige and Anuradhapura citadel. We may recall to mind with profit the Buddhist legends which narrated certain important events. According to *Mahavaṁśa* (XIX, 6 and XIX, 11-12) the Mauryan emperor Aśoka came to despatch the Bodhivṛkṣa sappling to Siṁhala in a highly religious manner. He descended into the water neck-deep and set the *Bodhi* tree on the ship and stood with folded hands on the shore. The *Vinaya* texts and *Jātakas* inform us that merchants from Sahajāti, Kauśāmbi, Vārānasi, Paṭaliputra and Gompa brought their goods to Tāmralipti, i.e. Tamluk in West Bengal and further to other sea port stations like Kaṇṭhī on the lower Bengal coast, Kainapara (Konark), Dosarne (Dhauli), Kalingae (Kalingapatnam) and Maisolia (Machilipatnam) in coastal Andhra. It is now becoming clear that south-east Indian port towns were closely linked to the Śrilankan centres by cir. 5th century B.C. itself. The Buddhist monks along with merchant guilds (*Śresṭhis* and *Nigamas*) who were converts to this popular casteless religious faith.

Vimala Begle's researches have proved that Arikamedu, as a port, came to prominence by mid 3rd century B.C.[5] itself. This evidence amply supports the Śrīlankan contacts with the port town of Mantai and several others in South and South-East Sri Lanka. Some of the merchant sailors trading with the Mediterranean via the Red Sea seem to be *Drāviḍī* people.

(III). NEW EVIDENCES FROM BENGAL COAST AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA :

Prof. B.N. Mukherjee recognised, for the first time, numerous Kharoṣṭī-Brāhmī inscriptions[6] on pots, plaques and seals earlier recovered from the excavations at Chandraketugarh and nearby places like Bangarh and Hadipur in District 24-Paraganas. The terracotta seals display sea-going vessels containing corn flanked by symbols like conch and taurine. Such vessel types bear legends reading *'Sasyādhṛta-sthali'* a bowl-shaped vessel filled with corn. The other one of the same size has legend refering to *'Tridēśa yātra'*, meaning a voyage to three countries or directions. Yet another seal from Chandraketugarh reveals a type of vessel called *'Trapyaka'* belonging to the wealth earning *Taśvadaja* family. The above vessel types as well as flanking symbols recall the Sātavāhana ships. It appears that Kharoṣṭī script using tradesmen settled in lower Gangetic valley of Bengal in good numbers during 1st Century B.C. to 3rd Century A.D. mixed up with the *Brāhmī* using local merchants and developed a *miśra* type of *Kharoṣṭī-Brāhmī* writing in North-Western *Prākṛtic* expressions. A unique sea - going vessel, single-mast type with an eye-socket symbol engraved thereon indicated an early trade contact with Egypt as well.[7]

Suvarṇadvīpa found in *Sanskrit* and *Pāli* literature refers to South-East Asia and *Milindapañha* describes this as a land of ports where ships congregated. Recent archaeological excavations in the main land and peninsular South-East Asian countries like Chansen, Dondaphet in central Thailand, Mynamar, Oc-Eo in Mekong delta, Beikthano and Taungtheman; Semiran in the North-east coast of Bali in Indonesia, revealed certain important objects such as glass and carnelian, etched beads, Intaglios and seals, etc. Sembiran on the north coast of Bali excavated between 1987-89 has also some inscribed pottery types bearing *Kharoṣṭī-Brāhmī* letters.[8] In this trade Sri Lanka has been at the receiving end. Horses from North-West India were sent by the sea vessels through Bengal coast right from the Mauryan times. Religious involvement provided a cohesion and system to the trading communities and through these channels early Buddhism and Brahmanical religions and cults found their way to South-East Asia[9], somewhat later, than Sri Lanka.

(IV). EPIGRAPHICAL REFERENCES :

Mahārāja Kharavela of Kaliṅga (Circa. 2nd Century B.C.), had captured the market town of Pihuṇḍa, an ancient port town on the east coast near Machilipatnam. Sea-faring merchants were travelling from Champa (Kampuchea) to Pihuṇḍa even during the days of Mahāvira. Kudura and Kaṇṭakossyala (modern Ghantasala in dt. Krishna), are also important centres mentioned by Ptolemy in the country of Maisolos. In the inscriptions of 1st-2nd Century A.D., we find master mariners residing at *Mahā Nagaparvata*[10] (Guntupali) and Ghantasala. The Indo-Roman trade of this period is well established and port towns of coastal Andhra and Tamilnadu were humming with activity. The Mon race, now known as *Tailang* in Burma are from Telangana and Kaliṅga areas. The script of the oldest inscription found in Mon on a Pillar resembles the early Pallava and the *Tailang* alphabet is closer to the Veṅgī alphabet. Indeed Śālaṅkāyanas of Veṅgī were responsible for the spread of Buddhism in Burma. An inscription of the time of Mahārāja Mūlavarmā, the ruler of Malaya, refers to a master mariner (*Mahānāvika*), named Buddhagupta, native of *Raktam ṛttika Vihāra* (Rangamati, dt. Murshidabad, W. Bengal), going to Malaya peninsula in 5th Century A.D. Interestingly the reported discovery of an inscription written in South-East Asian variety of *Brāhmī* of 8th century A.D. on a piece of stone fixed in door-sill of a Church in Mexican sea port of Tihuosuco on the Atlantic Ocean refers to a *Mahānāvika* of Indian origin, who traversing South-East Asia ferried across the Pacific Ocean and reached America by 8th Century A.D. It means that America was discovered not by Columbus but by an Indian navigator about seven hundred years before him.[11]

(v). NUMISMATIC EVIDENCES :

As we have pointed out earlier, coastal navigation assumed importance during the Mauryan period. The occurence of Punch-marked silver coins and the NBP ware in Sri Lankan towns of the Pre-Mauryan and Mauryan date (600-250 B.C) attests the Mauryan impact. A unique type of PMC using the ship symbol were obtained from Chandraketugarh. In northern Sri Lanka a single-mast ship type coin dated to 1st Cent. B.C. is a noteworthy example. The ship type coins issued by the Sātavāhana king Vāśiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi, the illustrious son and successor of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, the *Trisamudra-toya-pītavāhana*, and *Dakṣiṇa-Padha-Patī* are classic examples among the Indian coinage in lead and depicted both single and double-mast ships anchored in mid-sea. Gautamīputra Yajñaśri, his able successor, also continued the type more prominently and these were known from many sites on the south-east coast. A unique coin now in the British Museum shows the device very clearly and what is more interesting is the portrayal of cargo vessels approaching the anchored ship. These ship type coins were continued by the Śālaṅkāyana ruler Vijaya Devavarman (280-293 A.D.) who succeeded the Sātavāhanas. A galaxy of Buddhist teachers like Buddhaghoṣa, Buddhamitra, Bodhi-Dharma, Vajra Bodhi (*Tāntrik* Buddhism), Dinnāga (*Nyaya*), Vinītaruchi took Buddhism to the Far-Eastern countries through the sea routes. This very zone assumed great importance and as Lokesh Chandra[12] puts it, it was not Bengal, Orissa or Assam but *Oḍḍiyāṇa* meaning 'Girdle' i.e. *Maṇi-mēkhalai*, i.e., Kanchipuram and Āndhrapatha were the chief centres transmitting Tāntrik Buddhism to Indonesia and China. Bull and Double-Mast Ship type coins of copper were issued by the Pallava rulers of Pre-Mahendra[13] line.

Ship symbol occurs on terracotta sealings from Central Thailand. Ship type coins of bronze with a cow or bull on the reverse were found from Klong Thom and Khuan Lukpad which were perhaps in circulation amongst the merchants[14]. A stone seal from Nakron Pathom shows a two-masted ship. Tin for minting coins, as also the gold, must have been imported from Thailand and Malaya. Items that were exported from India included ivory, carnelian (a pendent of leaping lion from Ban-Don-Ta Phet), glass beads, knobbed bronze bowls of Orissa-Bengal origin.

A recently discovered rock inscription (Pulān-Kurichhi, Ramanathapuram) refers to a donor as a captain of a big naval force during the year 192 of the Tamil era of the Kāḷabhra family. Kāḷabhras orginally came to the South by sea in 2nd century A. D.

(VI). MORE EVIDENCES FROM TAMILNADU AND ANDHRA:

The wharf at Kilaiyur, the reservoir at Vanagiri and the Buddha *Vihāra* at Malaiyur are the unmistakable evidences for the existence of ancient city under the earth of the shores. A structure somewhat apsidal in shape facing north, was located at Karaiyappar, 5 Km inwards from sea shore, tentatively taken as a part of Poompuhar, the ancient city of Saṅgam age.

An account of naval battles and ship wreckage is provided in Tamil epigraphs[15]. Parantaka-I is *Maduraiyam illamum koṇḍa*-conqueror of Sri Lanka, commanding a big naval fleet. Rajaraja's *praśastī* gives a vivid account of the naval battles fought at Kandalur. He bequeathed a strong army to his son Rajendra-I whose naval power is extolled. Kulottuṅga-I takes pride in his strong army and sent many naval expeditions. In later periods influences from Far East, Central and South China paved way for the growth of port towns not only in South-Asian countries such as Phillippines, Indonesia, Malayasia, Thailand but also in India and Sri Lanka.

Soon after Colas, the Kākatīyas of Warangal rejuvenated the Sea-borne trade[16]. Marcopolo visited the port of Motupalli, called *Deśuy akkoṇḍa-paṭṭaṇa* located in Chirala taluk, dt. Prakasam of Andhra Pradesh. This great port town is identified as *Dabadan* mentioned in the Daoyi Zhilue, an important 14th Century Chinese work, although Prof. Karashima recently put forth the view that *Dabadan* is *Periya-paṭṭiṇam* on linguistic grounds. The famous Motupalli inscription of Gaṇapatideva,1244 A.D. is of far reaching importance as the edict assures safety to traders (an *abhaya-śasana*) arriving from all countries (*svadeśi* and *paradēśi*), risking the sea voyages. The levies on the items of import and export have also been listed with great details and speaks of the flourishing international trade from this important sea port which was provided with ware houses. Besides the mention of several continents and cities, specific mention of Cini (China) is noteworthy. Confirming this epigraphical evidence is the Telugu work called *Harivilasamu* by the poet Śrinatha (15th century A.D.), which details the trading countries in the Andhra coast and the objects of import, particularly silks and pottery wares from China.

Orissa has also acted as a gateway for over-seas Asian trade. Ptolemy mentions major and prosperous ports like Nanaigam (Puri), Konagar (Konark), Kosambi (dt. Balasore), Paloura (Palur,dt.Ganjam). The entire coast of Orissa from Subarnarekha in the north to river Rishikulya in south is thus dotted with small ports[17]. These ports are on the estuary of rivers olandas on Burhabalang, Paradweep on Mahanadi, Manikapatna on lake Chilka and Khalkatta Paṭṭaṇa on the river Kushabhadra. Clear weather starts from *Kartika-Purṇima* when the first boat sailed on their eastward journey, i.e., the festival called *Baliyatra* which is celebrated in a grand way in Orissa. This *Baliyatra* appears to be in vogue from very early period when Buddhism started spreading from Magadha to various port towns of South-East Asia and Sri Lanka.

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GOTRAS IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SOUTH KANARA

Nagendra Rao

Introduction

In the ancient times *gotras* played a significant role in determining the social status of an individual in the society. Earlier the brahmans enjoyed the advantage of connecting their genealogy with ancient sages. Later this advantage was extended to non-brahman communities as well, particularly the *kṣatriyas*. The brahman *gotras* were exogamous. Apart from claiming social status, *gotras* were essential to enter into the institution of marriage. *Sagotra* marriage, i.e., marriage within the same *gotra*, was a taboo. As Romila Thapar says *gotras* served a distinct social function and underlined the status of the brahmans and indicated that the knowledge of ritual was a crucial aspect of social status. At the point where it became socially necessary there was a rush to systematize the lists and connections. Further Thapar says that for the brahmans the maintenance of such a system was necessary when new members had to be recruited who were not from the old kinship groups.[1] Thus through *gotras* the brahmans claimed that they were connected to great sages like Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvamitra, Kaśyapa, Bharadvaja, etc. In the rituals the brahman had to accept the gift after introducing himself to the people that he belonged to a particular *gotra*. As in other parts of India, in South Kanara too one can find large number of landgrants that were made to brahmans by kings and rich members in the society with the purpose of legitimatizing their position in society. However, only few inscriptoins mention about the *gotras* of the grantees and grantors. Here we inquire as to why only few land grants mention the *gotras* of brahmans. The content of the inscriptions would help us to know that when a detail was left out, this was done deliberately so as to fulfill a particular objective of the land grant.

Land grants in South Kanara

Several land grants were made to the brahmans of South Kanara. These grants were made both by the king or his subordinates and sometimes by rich members of the society like traders and rich agriculturists. Land was either given to the brahmans or it was given to temples which would be administered by important members of the society. Some land grants of South

Kanara mention the arrangement made to provide food to a particular number of brahmans. In most of these cases names and *gotras* of these brahmans are not mentioned.[2] This is because the people of the locality were not unaware of these usual arrangements and there was no need to elaborately give all details of grantees.

Reference to *gotras*

In South Kanara inscriptions mention *gotras* when land grant was made to a brahman who was newly introduced to the region. In order to make the people of the locality to adjust with him, his details were given in the inscriptions. The Mangalore inscription belonging to A.D. 1420[3] states that Karaṇika Hariyarasa of Mangalore made a land grant to some brahmans. Hariyarasa originally belogned to an *agrahara* of Harihara and he belonged to Bhāradvāja *gotra*. Here the grantor is introduced to the locality by mentioning his *gotra*.

A Jain inscription belonging to Mudabidre mentions that the Salva king belonged to Kaśyapa *gotra*.[4] Thus not only the brahmans, but kṣatriyas also claimed that they belonged to a particular *gotra*. By the medieval period the need of the *kṣatriyas* or kings to claim a particular *gotra* had become an all India phenomenon. South Kanara was not an exception to this development. The Barkur inscription belonging to A.D. 1431 mentions the grant given by Viṣṇu Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa who belonged to Haiverājya. It is stated that they belonged to Kaśyapa *gotra* and *Yajur* branch.[5] Haiverajya now comprises the present North Kanara district of Karnataka. Haive was known for the Havyaka brahman settlements. During the later period many Havyakas migrated to South Kanara and they participated in arecanut cultivation.

The Barkur inscription belonging to A.D. 1434 mentions the grant made by Devarasa Upādhyaya who belonged to Hārita *gotra* and Yaju branch.[6] Another Barkur inscription belonging to A.D. 1440 mentions that Annappa Odeya, the governor of Barkur, made a land grant to Timire Daṇḍana Ayya who belonged to Harita *gotra* and *Yajur* branch.[7] Yet another Barkur inscription belonging to A.D. 1440 mentions that Annappa Odeya made a land grant to Joyiṣa Ramanna who belonged to Maudgalya *gotra* and *Rk* branch.[8]

One inscription discovered near the Kuṇḍeśvara temple, Kundapura dated A.D. 1451 states that a gift of 48 *honnus*, which was the income from salt pans in Kuṇḍapura, was made to Joyiṣa Hariyappa of Maudgalya *gotra* and *Ṛk śākhā*.[9] Hariyappa belonged to Hemmadi.

Another Barkur inscription belonging to A.D. 1499 mentions the land grant made by sons of Sovanna of Vasudhare to one Narana deva. They belonged to Viśvāmitra *gotra* and *Aśvalāyana Sutra*.[10] Another Mudabidre inscription belonging to A.D. 1515 mentions Ratnappa Odeya as beloghing to Daṇḍadhipa *gotra*.[11] Thus even the Jains claimed to belong to certain *gotras*. This shows that it was difficult for Jains to remain in seclusion independent of developments in a brahmanical society. The Paḍuva Panamburu inscription[12] belonging to the reign of Devarāya II mentions the land grant made by the local Banga Prince Pāṇḍyapparasa to Govindadeva's sons who belonged to Kolaturu. The inscription mentions that they belonged to Ātreya *gotra*.

An inscription found near Kṛṣṇa Maṭha Udupi belonging to A.D. 1614 mentions that Liṅgappaya made grants to the Kṛṣṇa maṭha It is stated that Liṅgappaya belonged to Śaṅkuvali *agrahara* of Kolapi *grama*. He belonged to Bhāradvāja *gotra* and *Ṛk* branch (*śākhā*).[13] Another inscription found in the same place belonging to A.D. 1614 mentions that Damarsa Prabhu, the son of Dama Prabhu belonging to Maṭhagrāma made a grant to the temple. It is stated that Damarsa Prabhu belonged to Kauśika *gotra* and *Ṛk* branch. Maṭhagrāma was a part of Saṣaṣṭigrāma of Goa. Maṭhagrāma was one of the important eight villages of the locality. It is possible that Damarsa Prabhu belonged to Sārasvata brahman community and he maintained contact with Kṛṣṇa temple and gave offerings to the *Maṭha*.[14]

The above references to *gotra* suggests that when land grant was made to the brahmans of the locality there was no need to specify their details which were known to the people. Thus *gotras* are mentioned to introduce the person to the society and thereby get legitimacy. There are references to brahmans from Harihara, Haiverājya and Goa.

Secondly, all these references belong to the Vijayanagara period and post Vijayanagara period. During this time there were many land-grants which were made by the kings either directly or indirectly through the governors at Barkur and Mangalore. It was this encouragement given by the kings and officials which was responsible for the creation of brahman settlements in South Kanara. In fact it was during this period that the brahmanical traditional chronicle *Gramapaddhati* was written and became popular in the brahman households. Thus Vijayanagara and post Vijayanagara period represented the expansion of the brahman settlements in South Kanara. This suggestion is also supported by the fact that not only brahmans but there was migration of traders, artisans and other communities to South Kanara. Therefore, when the gotras were mentioned in the inscriptions there was a specific purpose in doing that.

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SANSKRIT AND BIOLOGY

Mrinal Kaul (Martand)

विज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात्। विज्ञानाद्ध्येव खल्विमानि भूतानि जायन्ते। विज्ञानेन जातानि जीवन्ति। विज्ञानं प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्तीति।

*Taittirīya.Up.*3.5.1

'He knew knowledge as Brahman; for from knowledge indeed, spring all these beings; having been born, they are sustained by knowledge, they move towards and merge in knowledge.'

One of the most important and valuable assets to be acquired for successful living is an understanding of human beings, both collectively and as individuals. A biological study of such phrases as heredity, endocrine secretions, personal and public health, sanitation, abnormalities and diseases, normal and abnormal human behaviour can help greatly in our attempt to live happily and successfully.

Biology is the science of living things. The term 'biology' is derived from two Greek words, 'bios' meaning life and 'logos' meaning study. The definition of biology appears to be quite simple but actually this science is very complex and quite informative. The *Caraka Saṁhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna*-I-43) sums up the importance of biology in these words : The science relating to life is regarded by the philosophers as the most meritorious of all the sciences because it teaches mankind what constitutes their good in both the worlds.'

Biological sciences constitute a very important place in the modern methods of detecting and curing diseases of various kinds. In this paper, I would briefly trace out the contribution of the scientific Sanskrit literature towards the upliftment of the modern medical sciences. Besides the contribution in the field of basic biological subjects like botany and zoology is also described in a lucid way.

The germ of Hindu medicine is found laid in the *Vedas* themselves. In all the four *Vedas*, there are ample references to medicinal drugs, methods of treatment and descriptions of the different parts of the organs of the human body. For instance the *Ṛg Veda* (I.164.4) refers to 'bony beings' and 'non-bony beings'.

Some of the legends that occur in the *Rg Veda* clarifies the methods of curing several diseases. For instance according to a verse in the *Rg Veda* (I.116.15) the legs of *Viśpalā* (wife of Rājā Khela) were got chopped in a war. Later on she was cured by replacing her chopped legs by iron ones.

The human body which is made up of five basic elements (*Pañcabhūtas*), it is held, is associated with the *tridoṣas* - *Vāta, Pitta* and *Kapha*-from its birth to death (*Ṛg Veda* I.34.6) also *cf.* (*Su.Sm.*1.22). The concept of *tridoṣa* is the fundamental principle underlying the Āyurvedic system of medicine. When the three - *Vāta, Pitta* and *Kapha* remain normal and undisturbed, the body is at ease and there is no disease. The normal functions of these *tridoṣas* are :

(i) *Vāta*-'air' is mostly connected with nervous system or wind; it does not mean gas 'trouble'. Wind is not seen. But its effects are visible. Air movement causes movement of leaves; objects get displaced; so we feel the breeze. Nervous impulses are not visible but its effects are seen as movements, sound and sensations etc.

(ii) *Pitta* - is concerned with digestion and connected activities.

(iii) *Kapha* - is concerned with phlegm. Cardiac diseases, kidney diseases, respiratory diseases produce excess of lung secretions, from just phlegm to frothy mucous to pulmonary edema.

To bestow immunity from diseases and protect the heart, *Sūryanamaskāra* has been prescribed by the *Vedas* (*Ṛg Veda* I.50.11). The rising sun with the rays abounding with ultra-violet rays are bactericidal and viricidal. *Sūryanamaskāra* provides health and protects the heart. It was being practised and possibility of heart ailments was less. Ultraviolet light exposure is even used in modern medicine as phototherapy to cure neo-natal jaundice. The *Aśvins* are credited with rejuvination capacity and *Ṛg Veda* (I.117.13) tells how Cyavana was restored to youthfulness. In *Śuklayajurveda* are listed some of the very important methods of curing the diseases like; अर्श (hemorrhoids, piles), पाण्डु (jaundice), मुखपाक (inflammation of the mouth), यक्ष्म (a pulmonary disease), श्लीपद (elephantiasis), श्लेष्म (phlegm and mucus), श्वयथु

(intumescence).

The *Atharva Veda* deals with medicine in detail. It provides a good account of different diseases and their methods of curing (*Ath. V.* IX.14). Some better methods of good blood circulation also find their place in the *Atharva Veda*;

तीव्रा अरुणा लोहिनीस्ताम्र-धूम्रा उर्ध्वा अवाची: पुरुपे तिरश्ची: ।

In it is listed a detailed information about the functioning of veins and arteries. One can also see in the *Atharva*, classification of plants based on their appearance and qualities. Those were made as follows :

प्रस्थानवती	(spreading)
एक शृंगा	(with single whorl of calyx)
प्रतानवती	(extending)
काण्डिनी	(jointed)
नघीरपा	(harmless)
स्तम्भिनी	(bushy)
अंशुमती	(having many shoots)
विशाखा	(having extending branches)
जीवाला	(lively)
मधुमती	(very sweet)

This classification was made about five thousand years ago. The classification of the same kind was made by Theoprestus of Greece supposed to be the exponent of botany in 300 B.C.

The *Upanisads* being the most authoritative works on the Vedānta Philosophy have been a great source of inspiration to the world-reputed philosophers and scientists. Most of these *Upanisads* being the extracts from the *Vedas* are sure to touch many of the biological truths. For instance, to Kabandhi's question Pipalāda answers-

तस्मै स होवाच प्रजाकामो वै प्रजापति: स तपोऽतप्यत स तपस्तप्त्वा स मिथुनमुत्पादयते। रयिं च प्राणं चेत्येतौ मे बहुधा: प्रजा: करिष्यत इति।

'The lord of all creatures became desirous of progeny. He deliberated on (past Vedic) knowledge. Having brooded on that knowledge, He created a couple - food and *Prāṇa*–under the idea, "These two will produce creatures for me in multifarious ways."'

It is quite ineresting to note what ancient seers have observed about *Vāta*. The five kinds of *Vāyu* and their location in human body is given in the *Prasnopani ṣat* (III.5); Prāṇa is located in the Heart. *Prāṇavāya* is oxygen and it circulates and it is the essential need for all nervous activities. Thus it is in the forefront and hence called *prāṇa*. *Apāna* is located at anal region. Its functions, looking at from modern medicine are urination, defecation and reproductory activities, controlled by parasympathetic sacral outflow. *Samana* is in the abdomen. It equalises energy derived from food and is concerned with digestion. Vagal (abdominal) activities, digestive enzyme action are all under the control of *samāna*. *Udāna* is located in the throat. It is concerned with deglutition, vocalisation etc. It is the special visceral efferant supplying the muscles from branchial arches. *Vyāna* moves through the body and represents the motor and sensory systems. The explicit functioning of these five kinds of *vayus* is given in the *Chāndogyaopaniṣat* (III.13) and (V.19-23)

The *Praśnopaniṣat* contains a minute study of the nerves and sub-nerves present in the human body.

अत्रैतदेकशतं नाडीनां तासां शतं शतमेकैकस्यां द्वासप्ततिर्द्वासप्ततिः प्रतिशाखानाडीसहस्त्राणि भवन्त्यासु व्यानश्चरति ॥ (III-6)

'This self (i.e., the subtle body) is surely in the heart. There are 101 main nerves; each is divided into one hundred branches; and each of these branches is sub-divided into 72,000 sub-branches. Thus the sub-branches are 727,200,000 and the total number of all the nerves is 727,210,201. Among these nerves moves *Vyāna*.

One of the verses of *Aitareya Upaniṣad* (I.1.3) corresponds with the modern theory of the origin of life put forward by the Russian bio-chemist A.I. Oparin, who in 1936 A.D. published an extensive development of the hypothesis in his book "The origin of life on the earth." Oparin referred to special group of droplets called coacervates which are clusters of proteins held together in small droplets within a surrounding liquid. The *aupaniṣadic* verse says- सोऽद्भ्य एव पुरुषं समुद्धृत्यामूर्छयत्।

(Having gathered up a (lump of the) human form from the water itself, He gave shape to it.) This shows that both regard water as the source of life on the earth. Oparin further adds that the coacervates became bigger and complex by acquiring more organic molecules. Thus organic bio-molecules originated from non-living things by taking up organic compounds from the surrounding medium in the primitive seas and reproducing them.

The *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, explaining the process of reproduction, regards women as fire :

योपा वाव गौतमाग्निस्तस्या उपस्थ एव समिद्यदुपमन्त्रयते स धूमो योनिरर्चिर्यदन्तः करोति तेऽङ्गारा अभिनन्दा विस्फुलिङ्गाः । तस्मिन्नग्नौ देवा रेतो जुह्वति तस्या आहुतेर्गर्भः संभवति ॥ (V-8-1-2)

'O, Gautama, woman is indeed the fire. In that fire which is such, the gods offer semen as the oblation. From that oblation the foetus comes into being.' (For details refer to Sw. Gambhirānanda's translation of the *chandogyopaniṣad.*)

Gaining inspiration from these vedic and *aupaniṣadic* texts the hermit - scientists start performing new researches as a result of which many Sanskrit texts got composed during the post-vedic period that played a very pivotal role in the development of modern medical sciences. Among these works the *Carka Saṃhitā*, the *Suṣruta Saṃhitā*, the *Kāśyapa Saṃhita* and the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* are worth mentioning. We would take a brief look at these works.

Sage Bhāradvaja is referred to as the father of Indian Medicine. The world's first symposium held on the medicinal plants in relation to diseases was presided over by him. The *Caraka Saṃhitā* in the very first chapter gives a detailed account of this symposium and its participants. According to the treatise great symposium was held in the regions of Himalayas during the seventh century B.C. which is probably the age of the compilation of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*.

The *Caraka Saṃhitā* was compiled during the age of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. It is not the creation of any one author but is a compilation of the minutes and discourses that got held in the different symposiums organised during different centuries.

Kṛṣṇa Atreya was a great teacher of the science of medicine known as *Kāya Cikitsa* (treatment of the particular part of body affected by a disease). Bhāradvaja who preceeded him was the propounder of this science of medicine. The *Caraka Saṃhita*, the greatest of the works on medicine may be regarded as the final embodiment of the teachings of Atreya. Atreya left a number of disciples who collaborated with him in several healthy discussions incorporated in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. He is the first systematic teacher of the science of *Āyurveda* who was initiated by sage Bhāradvāja. Atreya is regarded as the preacher of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. His disciple Agniveśa its compiler, Caraka the investigator and the job of further development was completed by Dṛḍabala.

The *Caraka Saṃhitā* (*śarīrasthāna* II. 26) states that an embryo has four components

गर्भस्य चत्वारि चतुर्विधानि भूतानि मातापितृसंभवानि।
आहारजन्यात्मकृतानि चैव सर्वस्य सर्वाणि भवन्ति देहे ॥

a.) derived from mother b.) from father c.) from food and d.) developed by itself. The *Caraka Saṃhitā* contains many more such remarks which are held in reverence even today. Some of them are in the fields of Physiology, Etiology and Embryology. Caraka was the first physician to present the concept of digestion, metabolism and immunity.

From the pages of the *Carka Saṃhitā* it becomes clear that Caraka knew the fundamentals of genetics. For instance, he knew the factors determining the sex of a child. A genetic defect in a child, he said, was not due to any defect in the mother or the father but in the ovum or sperm of the parents. This clearly contradicts Gregor Mendel (1822-1884) of being called the father of genetics.

Caraka further claims that the heart is connected to the entire body through thirteen main channels. Apart from these channels, there are countless other ones, some big and some small, which supply not only nutrients to various tissues but also provide passage to waste products.

Dhanvantari is the praiseworthy propounder of *śalyacikitsā* (the science of surgery). Suṣruta, who is today recognized as the father of plastic surgery all over the world, learnt this technical art of surgery and medicine at the feet of Dhanvantari. His monumental treatise, *Susṛuta Saṃhitā* has considerable medical knowledge of relevance even today.

Susṛuta, the great plastic surgeon was the first physician to advocate what is today known as the 'caesarean' operation. He was also expert in removing urinary stones, locating and treating fractures and performing eye operations for cataract. His suggestion to give wine to the patients about to be operated upon makes him also the father of anaesthesia.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Caraka Saṃhita* both mention the number of bones in a human body to be three hundred and sixty. Where as *Susṛuta* improves on this number and gives only three hundred as based on anatomy of a dead child. The *Susṛuta* refers to the authority of the *Caraka*, sometimes refutes also but all this shows that *Caraka* preceedes *Susṛuta* in chronology. In the *Caraka* we find that there are fourteen bones in the breast, in the *Susṛuta* this number rises to seventeen.

Susṛuta seems to possess a subtle study of human body. According to him the veins and arteries are agile like fishes and as such one should be very much careful while operating some one.

शिरासु शिक्षितो नास्ति चला ह्येताः स्वभावतः ।
मत्स्यावत् परिवर्तन्ते तस्माद् यत्नेन ताऽयेत ॥ (*Sus.* 8-10)

A Sanskrit thesaurus, *Amarakośa* (II.6) contains in detail the names of different diseases the respective nature, symptoms and treatments of which can be seen in the *Susṛuta Saṃhitā*. For instance the nature, symptoms and treatment of a disease named *Kilasa* (Leprosy-Memordica Mixta) is described in this verse of *Susṛuta*.

कण्डवन्वितं श्वेतमपायि सिध्म विद्यात्तेनुप्रायशः उर्ध्वकाये ।

Padasphoaṭa (ulcer on the foot) is described in this verse :

स्विन्नस्यास्ताप्यमानस्य कण्डू रक्तकफोद्भवा ।
कण्डूयना त्ततः क्षिप्रं स्फोटः स्रावाश्च जायते ॥

Koṭha (ring worm-impetigo) follows its description in this verse of the *Mādhavanidāna*.

उत्कोठः सानुबन्धस्तु कोठ इत्यमिधीयते ।

Some other diseases listed in the *Amarakośa* are *Aśmari* (Strangury, stone or gravel-the tree (*Crataeva roxburghii* used as a lithontriptic), *Grahnisak* (dysentery), *Pādavalmikam* (elephantiasis), *Culla* (Bleared eye), *Pinās* (cold, *Catarrhcucumis utilissimus*.)

Besides these diseases Suṣruta also refers to menstrual cycle that takes place in women.

रसादेव रस: स्त्रीणां मासि-मासि त्र्यहं स्रवेत।

Rājnigantu also describes this cycle in detail.

Suṣruta comprehensively discusses the development of foetus in the womb. According to the *Suṣruta Saṃhitā* (IV-22) the foetus stays inside the womb with its face towards the back of the mother, its head above and its limbs folded. There after the foetus is nourished partly by way of the pores in hair-follicles and partly by way of the umbilical cord. To the navel of the foetus is attached the umbilical cord, to the umbilical cord is attached the placenta and the placenta is in turn attached to the heart of the mother and it is indeed the mother's heart that floods the placement by means of the pulsation arteries; the fluid thus transmitted is generative of strength and colour, for it is indeed food containing all nutritive elements. For in a pregnant woman the nutritional juice is distributed in three ways–foetus, which being sustained by this nourishment, flourishes inside the womb (Sus.IV.23)

Suṣruta further adds, when the time for birth arrives the child is delivered, its head foremost being turned over by the force of the birth wind (uterine contractions) by way of the birth path (vagina). This is the norm, other than this is abnormality. After this the child becomes independent of the mother in its movements (IV-24).

Suṣruta describes more than one hundred surgical instruments made of steel. They should have good handles and firm joints, be well polished and sharp enough to divide even a hair ; they should be perfectly clean, and kept in flannel in a wooden box. They included various shapes of scalpels, bistouries, lancets, sacrifiers, saws, bone nippers, scissors, trocars and needles. There were also blunt hooks, loops, probes (including a caustic holder), directors, scoops and forceps (for polypi etc.) as well as catheters, syringes, a rectal speculum and bougies. There were fourteen varieties of bandages. There are some dexterous operations described in the *Suṣruta* (such as the rhinoplastic) which were of native invention.

Some other important Sanskrit texts concerning the subject are *Bhela Saṃhita, Kharaṇada Saṃhita , Madhavanidana, Kaśyapa*

Saṃhitā. The *Bhela Saṃhitā* seems to be based on the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. Some ancient authors refer to a work on medicines named *Kharaṇāda Saṃhitā*. *Madhavanidana* is a composition of *Madhava* and in it are listed very simple and effective remedies for seventy nine diseases. This is based on both the *Caraka Saṃhita* and the *Suṣruta Saṃhita*. Among other works *Kāśyapa Saṃhita* is also based on the *Caraka Saṃhitā* and is a very useful piece of work on *Kaumārabhṛtya* (work of nursing a baby). Among the other works of *Vāgbhaṭṭa*, a reputed chemist, we find *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha*, *Rasaratnasamuccaya*, and *Madhya Saṃhita* (lost). According to *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* the foetus gets the ability to learn even when in uterus. Besides it also discusses in detail the formation of foetus in mother's womb. The works that were produced during the medieval period of Indian history are *Cikitsa-Kalikā* by *Tisata*, *Siddhayaga* by *Vṛnda*, *Bhāva Prakaśa* by *Bhavamiṣra*, *Vaidya Jivan* by *Lolambirāja*, *Āyurveda Prakaśa* by *Mādhava*, *Yogatarangini* by *Trimalla*, *Bhaiśyaja Ratnavali* by *Govinda Dāsa* and others.

Vṛkṣāyurveda by *Parāśara* occupies an important place in the field of botany. There is a deep insight into botanical studies here. The classification of trees is so scientifically done that it is being followed even in modern times. Following are some of the examples ;

शमीगणीया:	-	Leguminosae
पुपीलिकगणीया:	-	Rutaceae
स्वस्तिकगणीया:	-	Cruciferae
कूर्वगणीया:	-	Compositae

Pārāśara has given a detailed account of plant cells in his work. This is quite enlightening excelling the findings of the scientist Robert Hook in 1665 A.D. *Pārāśara's* description are

कलावेष्टनम्	Outer wall
सूक्ष्मपत्रकम्	Inner Wall
रञ्जकयुक्ता रसाश्रया	Sap with colouring matter
अन्वक्षा	That which can be seen with naked eye.

The process of sucking liquids from the bottom by the plants is described in the following verse ;

वक्क्षेत्रेनोत्पलनालेन यथोर्ध्वं जलमाददेत् ।
तथा पवनसंयुक्तः पादैः पिबति पादपः ॥

The synonym of tree is *Padapa.* A tree is that which takes water from the bottom. This phenomena of taking water is called suction force. In 1894 two scientists Jolly and Bixon found out this phenomena. Besides the *Vanośadhivarga* of the *Amarakośa* provides abundant details about the different plants and their uses.

Apart from *Āyurveda* the yoga philosophy, which is one of the main philosophies among the six schools of Indian thought has contributed generously towards the efforts of human beings to detect and cure diseases of various kinds by performing gentle exercises like *āsana, prāṇāyāma, mudrā, nyasa* etc.

Pātañjali's aphorisms is the base of *yoga* philosophy. The *Gheranda Saṃhitā* and the *Hatha yoga pradipikā* are some of the other important texts concerning the subject

All the scriptures and the manuscripts that provide us such sort of antique information are composed in Sanskrit. We, therefore, can conclude that the contribution of scientific Sanskrit literature towards the upliftment of modern medical sciences has been significant and worthwhile.

PHILOSOPHY OF JAGANNATHISM AS DEPICTED IN THE *VAMADEVA SAMHITĀ*

Shivapriya Devi & Bidyut Lata Ray

PROLEGOMENON :

Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā, a *Sthala Purāṇa* of Jagannātha tradition and culture, eulogizes the glory of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā alongwith the presentation of the complete picture of Śrimandira, its deities, servants, rites and festivals, mode of worship and above all the philosophy and religion. Lord Jagannātha, the presiding deity of Śrikṣetra, is regarded as the highest authority of the state of Orissa. He is the God of the Universe who symbolises the unification of all the religions - *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śaktism, Saurism, Buddhism, Jainism, Nathism, Muslim and Christianity.* Consequently the cult of Lord Jagannatha is the *Gaṇadharma*.

From the ancient time of the *Vedas, Purāṇas* to-date, the Jagannātha-Cult has been widely, discussed and analysed. The aim of the present paper is to focus on the philosophy and religion depicted in the *Sthala-Purāṇa.*

VAMADEVA-SAṀHITA

Like *Ṛgveda Śri Puruṣottama-Kṣetra mahatmyam*, Niladri-*mahodayam* and other Purāṇas the present *Puraṇa Vamadeva Saṁhitā* describes Lord Jagannātha as a Vaiṣṇavite deity, Daru-devatā and Puruṣottama. Lord Jagannātha is the *Daru-Brahma.* The tri-colour of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā are respectively black, white and yellow. Each colour has its own philosophy and significance. *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* describes in detail the various rites and purifications to be observed on the temple of Lord Jagannatha at the time of occurrence of some mis-happenings either in the temple or in the chariots of the deities (VS, Ch. 18). The major religions found place in our *Puraṇa* are *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism* and *Śaivism. Vamadeva-Saṁhita* describes Lord Jagannātha as *Śabar-devata* and thus attributing it to undeveloped aboriginal art. In Chapter five, our *Puraṇa* mentions the incompleteness of the images of the deities of *Śrimandira.* This incomplete form of the images is the symbolic manifestation of the inconceivable *Brahma.* Radha concept and Chhera Pahnra are included in *Vamadeva-Saṁhita* to justify the philosophy of Radha-Kṛṣṇa and the *Karma-Yoga* of the *Gita.* There is no distinction in the performance of a duty by a King or by his subjects. Mahaprasad, the oblations offered to Lord Jagannatha, has also its own philosophy. Such oblations are termed as *'Kaivalya'* in the cult of Lord Jagannatha. The devotees of Śrī Jagannātha believe that one who takes a grain of *Kaivalya* becomes free from all the sins and also attains salvation after death. This is known as *'Kaivalya Mukti'* which is prevalent in Jainism.

The worship of the 'Pañcadevata' referred in our *Purāṇa* forwards the *'Pañcadevata'* tradition of the Hindus. Jagannatha himself, infact, symbolises *'Pañcadevata' Nārāyaṇa, Rudra, Gaṇesa, Sūrya and Durgā*. He is *Nārāyaṇa* on the *Ratna Siṁhāsana, Rudra* during *Navakalevara* and *Gaṇeśa* during *Snāna-Yātrā*. He is conceived as the Sun God at the time of the Car-festival. He is accepted as *Durgā* during *Śayanotsava*. Ostensively, the cult of Lord Jagannātha, in due course of its origin and developments, assimilates all the strange elements of various, sects and finally sets forth a unique religious concept and metaphysical knowledge.

PHILOSOPHY :

The philosophy of Jagannātha Cult is wrapped round with some mysterious conceptual backgrounds. Such historical and social developments include the concept of *Puruṣottama*, the ideology of *Śuṇya Purāṇa, Buddhavatāra* component, the theory of cosmogony, *Nirākāra Tattva, Yoga*-System, the concept of *Guru*, the theory of *Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa* mode of worship in the Vedic and tantric forms of religion and finally the concept of *Kaivalya Mukti* and *Mūrtti-Tattva*.

(i) PURUṢOTTAMAVADA

Lord Jagannātha of Puri is called *Puruṣottama*, the highest *Puruṣa*. Though the word *'Puruṣa'* has been used in the *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* to normally, mean 'a person', 'a human being' in general (i.e. denoting both man and woman)[1], its meaning is more exposed in the *Upaniṣads*. The word *'Puruṣa'* is used in the following four senses in the *Upaniṣads* :-

(a) A human being

(b) The individual soul

(c) The presiding deity of some element or the personal God.

(d) The impersonal or the abstract Cosmic Soul *(Brahman)*[2]

Thus, *Puruṣa* is a philosophical term that means 'individual Soul' 'the highest personal God' and 'the impersonal Absolute'. Later, this sense of 'individual Soul' has been characterised by its plurality[3]. *Vedānta* (monoistic) prefers the terms *Ātman* and *Brahman* whereas some other philosophies (*Nyāya*, *Yoga* etc.) the terms *Jīva* and *Iśvara*.

According to *Bhagavadgita*[4], there exist two types of *Puruṣa*, one perishable and the other imperishable. But, Bhagavat, the Lord, is above these categories. He is known as *Puruṣottama* - the highest *Puruṣa* or *Paramātman* - the highest *Ātman*. In the *Vedas*, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavāna is known as *Puruṣottama*. This is no doubt alluded to the *Puruṣa-Sūkta* of the *Ṛgveda*[5]. The *Skanda Purāṇa*[6] also prescribes to worship Viṣṇu with the verses of the *Puruṣa-Sukta*.

The *Puruṣa* of the *Ṛgveda* is identified with the *Yajñapuruṣa* Viṣṇu, from whose body the whole creation emanates. This also leads towards the *Visvarūpa* of Viṣṇu. In this concept, the universe is totally identified with Viṣṇu, the various phenomena of the universe being considered to be the different parts of the body of the immeasurable Viṣṇu. The Sun and the Moon are his eyes, the earth the feet, the heaven the head, the trees the corporal hair etc[8]. In the *Mahabharata*, Kṛṣṇa is said to have shown this form to the courtiers of Duryodhana, Arjuna and Uttanka[9]. In this manner the cosmic giant *Purusa* is shaped like that of a human being. He is the Sanatana *Purusa* (eternal being)[10], the highest and the immutable.

The Viṣnuite deities are classified under three broad heads, Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṁha and *Puruṣottama* in the *Śaradātilaka* which deals with each one of these in a separate *paṭala* or chapter (15-17). From the descriptions of this text, it is evident that the term 'Viṣṇu' represents the *Bhagavata-Vāsudeva* aspect, 'Nṛsiṁha' the furious or violent (*Ugra*) aspect and *'Puruṣottama'* the amorous aspect of the same God."

Besides, there are three other aspects of *Puruṣottama*, namely, Śrikara or Śridhara aspect, Kama or Pradyumna aspect and Kṛṣna aspect. In the Śrikara aspect, he is worshipped as the consort of Lakṣmi, in his Kṛṣṇa aspect, he is worshipped as the beloved of Gopīs, and in his Kāma aspect, as the god of love himself. He is also worshipped as a combination of Kāma and Viṣṇu and here is called Trailokyamohana. Thus, the characteristics of the husband of Lakṣmi of Kṛṣṇa and of Kāma are all united in *Puruṣottama* himself. The *Puruṣottama* Jagannātha of Puri possesses all the these characteristics. Evidently, Lord Jagannatha is the unification of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Kama[12].

Lord Jagannātha is the *Puruṣottama* of *Gitā*, symbolises the *'Kṣara Puruṣa'* and the *'Akṣara Puruṣa'*, pervading the heart of all beings. He is regarded as the creator, who can move about without feet. He can see without eyes and can hear without ears[13]. The *Gitā* distinguishes between *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* and says that the Lord is beyond both and at the same time mentions that these two forms are comprehended in a new form, distinct from the other two[14]. The supreme Lord is incomprehensible (*acintya*). But the *Kṣara* and *Akṣara* are both comprehensible. Besides there is a dualism and opposition between *Kṣara* and *Akṣara*, but the absolute is not opposed to any. Lord Jagannātha is conceived in this way. He is other than pure *Purusa* (Balabhadra) and *Parā prakṛti* (Subhadrā), the *Kṣara* and the *Akṣara*[15].

Lord Jagannātha is not merely a *Puruṣa* like the *Saṁkhya Puruṣa* which is a bare witness, pure consciousness, itself without quality or determination. The *Saṁkhya Puruṣa* is the true self of the individual (*Jīva*). It is never the universal one. According to *Śaṁkhya*, there are as many *Puruṣas* as there are *Jīvas*[16]. But the philosophy of Jagannāthism does not accept this pluralism (concept of many gods). The Supreme Lord is not the totality of the phenomenal selves. He transcends all of them althrough. He is the sustainer of all of them. In the *Brahma Puraṇa*, Puruṣottama is described as one whose principal characteristic lies in his contradictory qualities or *dharmas*[17]. *Skanda Purāṇa*[18] also admits the same thing.

Śaiva School of thought accepts Lord Jagannātha as Śiva whose Bhairava *rūpa* is evident from its black colour. Balabhadra represents the incarnation of Śeṣa or Ananta Naga which is the basic element present at the very beginning of the creation. Ostensibly, the Śaivite conception of the creation has been epitomised in the Jagannātha Cult. Subhadra is the potency of the creation of Jagannatha, She is the Determinate form of the Indeterminate Vimala which is free from all sorts of effusion of

Creation[19]. The *Nilādri-Mahodayam*[20] describes him as the great *Brahma*, the great *Universe*, the *Nirguṇa Puruṣa* and the Saccidānanda. He is the sacred, calm, eternal, peaceful and innocent. He is Śiva and Nirañjana.

The word *'Puruṣa'* is also used in our *Purāṇa Vamadeva-Saṁhitā*[21]. This has been used to describe the characteristics of Balabhadra who represents Mahadeva, Rudra and Śeṣa Naga[22]. The Śeṣa-Nāga has thousand heads, thousand faces and many hands[23]. He is holding the plough in his hands[24]. Our *Puraṇa* also, mentions that this thousand-heads Śeṣa-Naga is also holding up the earth, i.e. the Pṛthivi is maintained in this position due to the Nāgas[25]. In the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhita* Devi Subhadra is called Brahmā, who is worshipped with the *Gāyatri-Mantra*[26]. Like other *Puraṇas*, the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhita*[27] also describes Lord Jagannatha as *Puruṣottama*[28] and his *Kṣetra* as *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*[29].

(ii) THE CONCEPT OF ŚUNYA PURUṢA :

The theology of Jagannatha as found today, developed actually during the Gaṅga and Suryavaṁśi periods. With the accession of Choḍagaṅga, Vaiṣṇavism became the dominant faith in Orissa. It centred round the conception of Lord Jagannātha and may be called 'Jagannāthism'. During the age of Sarala Dasa and the Pañcasakhās of Oriya literature, various conceptions grew. The advent of Chaitanya gave a new impetus to Orissan Vaiṣṇavism[30]. The five great associates of the *Pañcasakhas* appeared in the 16th Century and gave the Cult of Lord Jagannatha a noble exposition. These five associates of Śri Chaitanya were Balarama, Jagannātha Yaśovanta, Ananta and Acyuta. After these Pañcasakhā philosophers there appeared Divākaradasa, Haridasa, Govindabhañja, Nanda Dasa, Ratnakara Dasa, Kṛpasindhu Dasa, Śikhara Dāsa, Nāthiā, Dvarakādasa and Candramaṇi Dasa who popularised the tenets of the Jagannatha Cult in Orissa.

The most striking feature of the ideology of the Pañcasakhas is the concept of *Śūnya*. The notion of the Void (*Śunya*) lies there in the ideology of Vajrayana and has been accepted by Vaiṣṇavism after identifying it with the Vedantic ideal of *Nirguṇa Brahma*. This term *Brahma* is applicable to Lord Jagannatha who is called *Daru Brahma* in the *Vamadeva-Saṁhita*[31] as well as in all other Jagannatha literature. Balarāmadasa[32] takes *Śunya* and *Brahma* as identical entities. He has also prescribed a *Bijamantra*[33] for the two. It is worth mentioning here that Brahma in its *Saguṇa* aspect is perceived in the world-manifestations, while in its *Nirguṇa* form it is conceived as the prime mover, behind all such manifestatiions. But the idea of a Vaccum gives rise to a new ideology par with that of *Vijñānavāda*, in which the natural materialism rests with *Śūnya*.

The Vaiṣṇava literature of Orissa is replete, with brilliant descriptions of the *Śūnya Puruṣa* who is sometimes called *Virāṭa Puruṣa*, *Nirākara*, and *Adi Brahma*; and the same idea may also be traced in the narration of Vajrayānists. *Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa*[35] mentions the Incomprehensible Being has neither form nor colour; He is the great Void and He has no existence; He is not a shape, and shapeless is His body and so he resides in Vaccum being himself formless[36]. One having physical form is unable to depict the secret of His form, because even the *Veda* fails to eulogize His merit[37]. Chaitanya Dasa in his *'Nirguṇa Mahātmya'* states that the Lord, having no origin and shape, fulfils the desire for emancipation of the living creatures. The devotees of the Lord believes that the Lord resides in all the material bodies. He is omnipresent. He takes the comprehensible form in the Void for the benefit of His followers and for the well-being of the universe[38].

According to *'Jñanasiddhi*[39]' he is the Being without origin and end, the all good, the soul-substance of all, the enlightened one having all the static and dynamic characteristics. It is also said in the *Jñanasiddhi*[40] that he externally belongs to all the elements, to all the beings–he remains pervading all the bodies in the form of the flow of consciousness; he is immutable, unthinkable, pure, passionless, perfect void like the sky, free from existence and non-existence. The *Śūnya Puruṣa* referred in the Pañcasakhā literature embodies the conception of the *Vajrasattva* of Tāntric Buddhism. It is also observed that the *Śūnya Puruṣa* and the *Vajrasattva* are the one and the same indentity. It is the Adi Buddha and Adi Brahma. Our Purana the *Vamadeva-Saṁhita* does not depict this Buddha Component of the Jagannātha Cult.

COSMOGONIC PHILOSOPHY OF JAGANNATHISM :

The Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa believe in the fact that the whole process of creation is the result of the union of space (*Yoga-māyā*) and time (*Kālarupa*), symbolically expressed as the union of the primordial Śakti and Phallus. This type of speculation is identical with the ideology of Tantric Buddhism in which Adi Buddha, Prajñā (the first mother) and the created world are symbolised as the well known triad Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. On the other hand, in Jagannathism the *Śūnya Puruṣa* is taken as Jagannātha, Yogamāyā as Subhadrā and Kālarūpa as Balabhadra who is also called Virāṭa, Ananta and Śeṣa[42].

The Cosmogonic theory of Jagannātha Cult is mingled with mysticism. Accordingly, when the genital fluid (Vindu) fell into the womb of Yogamāyā she brought forth a twin known as *Rā-Ma*, *Rā* denoting the universal *Jīva* (life) and *Ma* the universal *Parama* (Soul)[43]. Ma represents Kṛṣṇa and the love emotion (*premarasa*) of both of them represents *premarūpa* who conceived and gave birth to Tripurā. This Tripurā represented the three qualities *Satva*, Raja and Tama and her body was identical with the three worlds (*puras*)-the celestial (*Svarga*), the terrestrial (Martya), and the nether (Pātāla) worlds. Tripurā is variously called as Ādi Durgā, Mahāmāyā and Mahādurgā, and she is represented as having ten hands denoting ten directions of the universe[44].

THE PHILOSOPHY OF *NIRĀKĀRA MANTRA* :

The *Nirākāra Mantra* consists of thirty-two letters[45]. The origin and unfolding of these thirty-two letters resemble closely the process of creation. When *Yogamāyā* in the form of *Śakti* unites with *Kālarūpa* who assumes the shape of adamantine phallus, *Vindu* is added to *Ardhamātrā*, and thus is created the letter *'Oṁ'*, which, although phonologically composed of three sounds i.e. *a,u,m* is regarded here as 'Ekākṣara' or one letter. After Ekākṣara *Oṁ*, the two letters *Rā*-and *Ma* come into origin, which are characterised as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and the love emotion between them is given form as *Premarūpa* also known as *Candravālī*. Thus, we arrive at the trinity form-*Candrāvalī*, Rādhā *and* Kṛṣṇa, who are represented in *Tribīja* form as *Hḷīm* (Lājyā Bīja), *Sḷīm* (*Rājabīja*) and *Kḷīm* (*Kāmabīja*) respectively[46]. This *Tribīja* being transformed into *Mantra* becomes *'Hare Rāma-Kṛṣṇa'* which is the famous Mantra of three names and six letters of the Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa. Ostensibly, the great scholars of Orissa have attempted to assimilate both the cult of Rāmā and Kṛṣṇa into Jagannātha Cult.

Again Yaśovanta Dāsa states that even the four syllables *'Hare-Kṛṣṇa'*, which are but a part of the whole *Mantra*, represent the four images in the following manner; *'Ha'* stands for Subhadrā (Bhadra-Sākhā), *'Ra'* for Baladeva the consort of Revatī, *'Kṛ'* for

Jagannātha and *'Sna'* for Sudarśanạ[47]. In this manner, the *Mantra* and the deities are made identical with one another, and they are considered as the representation of the complete void. The philosophers of Pañcasakhā school have made constant efforts to reconcile principles of vacuity and externity. Lord Jagannātha has been characterised as *Alekha* and *Śūnya Puruṣa*. He is also regarded as the great *Brahma* and the *Nitya Puruṣa*. In the *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gītā*, the ideological synthesis between *Śūnya* and *Nitya* has been given. The temple of Lord Jagannātha (Nīlagiri) is identical with Goloka, and *Nitya* and Nīlagiri are taken as one and the same concepts[48].

THE YOGIC PHILOSOPHY OF THE JAGANNĀTHA CULT :

Haṭhayoga is the main aspect of the Yogic philosophy of the cult of Lord Jagannātha. The system of Yoga here includes various practices of *Mudrās* and *Bandhas* in more or less modified forms which have been derived from earlier Tantra-Yoga practices. The Yogic Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa name their Yoga system as *'Ghaṭa Yoga'*[49] which means the Yoga of the body or *Ghaṭa*. The Yogic philosophers of Orissa seem to have made a thorough survey of the whole nervous system of the human body, and they have counted altogether 72 thousand nerves from the naval region of the body[50]. But, only ten nerves, namely *Iḍā, Piṅgalā, Suṣumnā, Gāndhāri, Hastijihva, Pūṣā, Yaśāsvinī, Alambus Kuhū* and Śaṅkhinī are significant in yogic practices. Out of these nerves, first three are located inside the spinal column- *Iḍā* on the left, *Piṅgalā* on the right and *Suṣumnā* in the middle - running parallel to one another.

There are six *'Cakras'* in the human body and Kuṇḍalinī in her reverse (*ulṭa*) ascent towards *Nivṛtti*, is to gradually pass through them making the different stages of *Yoga*. The *Brahma Cakra* or the thousand petalled Lotus is ragarded as the seat of Jagannātha. Acyutananda in his *Chayaliśa Paṭala*, and Balarāma Dāsa in *Virāṭa Gītā* identify the human body in all its aspects with the temple of Jagannātha, making the *Brahma Cakra* the seat of Lord Jagannātha[51]. Divākara Das conceives of the temple itself as the thousand petalled Lotus[52].

The concept of *Piṇḍa Brahmāṇḍa* is there in the Yoga system of the Jagannātha Cult which adheres to *Guru Vāda* also. According to Balarāma Dāsa, "*Guru* is *Brahmā*, *Hari* and *Hara*", and he is also the formless void himself.[53] Acyutananda also accepts Guru in the same sense[54]. The *Upaniṣads* and the *Puraṇas* hold the *Guru Vada* in almost the same spirit. Thus, these Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa have regarded Lord Jagannatha as the ulitmate *Guru*-not only of the individual, but also of the whole universe[55].

The Yogic philosophy of the Jagannātha Cult bears the principle of identifying the human body with the universe. It holds that the entire universe lies inside the body. The *Piṇḍa* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* are one and the same[56] Balarama Dāsa and Yaśovanta Dāsa are of opinion that the various phases of time, i.e., day, night, week, month etc. are caused due to the functions of the vital winds in the nervous system, and by controlling the vital wind one might escape the malignant influence of the 'Whirl of time' (*Kāḷa Cakra*)[57].

VEDĀNTIC PHILOSOPHY :

In the Cult of Jagannātha, we discover the impact of diverse systems of Vedāntic philosophy, such as *Advaita*, *Dvaita*, Bhedābheda or *Daitadvaita, Acintya Bhedabheda.* It is the concept of *Puruṣa* and *Advaita* (*Advitiya*) on which the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*[58] bases its philosophy of Jagannātha. In the *Bhedābheda* or *Dvaitadvaita Vāda* system, all the three deities are different, though ultimately and philosophically they are one. Dvaita school accepts more than one *Tattvas.* But its (three) *Tattvas* Viz., Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, whether they are different or one, are not perceptible through human knowledge. Here, we see the impact of *Acintya Bhedabheda Vāda* and the other philosophical thoughts (*Vadas*) in the mode of worship in Puri and its environs[59].

According to Dr. B. L. Ray, the concept of *Bheda* finds a concrete manifestation at the time of bathing of Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā while the deities are brought by the *Śudras* and carried to the *Ratnavedi* by the *Brāhmaṇas.* During the *Navakaḷevara* ceremony of the deities, the idea of *Acintya Bhedābheda* is well exhibited, when the Daitās of Śabara origin are regarded as the kinsmen of Jagannātha and asked to perform the funeral rites, they are not allowed to worship the Lord on the throne[60]. Lord Jagannatha belongs to neither the Śabaras nor the *Brāhmaṇas* nor the Hindus, but is the God of all beings of the Universe and hence, aptly called Jagannatha or the Lord of the Universe, a form in which *Jñāna, Karma Bhakti* and *Prema* are united. Balabhadra represents pure knowledge or *Śuddhajñana*, Subhadrā represents *Karma* or Action and Jagannātha is the realisation of *Bhakti* or *Prema*. *Jñana* gives the transcendent, the distant, *Karma* gives the immanent, the near or that which is close to us. But, *Bhakti* gives that which is at the same time near and distant, transcendnent and immanent, that which is the self and the other than the self. Evidently, the trinity Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Jagannātha take the forms not only on logical grounds but also on spiritual senses.

The philosophy of the Jagannātha Cult has been projected in the *Sthala Purāṇa Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* in a scattered way. This *Purāṇa* does not devote any of its chapters specifically for the treatment of the philosophical knowledge. But, it touches the various aspects of philosophy such as the concept of *Brahma* and *Ātmā*; the attainment of *Mukti* and *Mokṣa*; the treatment of *Avedattva, Vedānta-Vāda* and *Yoga* system. As explained above, the *Purāṇa* emphasises on the individual philosophy of the images of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā. Though the images form a triad, they have their own philosophies based on the shape, colour and relevant characters. Out of the three forms, the third one, i.e., Jagannātha is a synthesis of the first two in a new and distinct form. This form represents the absolute unit of all the three forms together. Therefore, the earlier forms are transcended in the latter, and the latter form not only stands over against the earlier two, but it also becomes inclusive of the other two. Now, we will discuss the philosophy of Jagannāthism as depicted in our *Purāṇa Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* on the elements of incompleteness of the images, colours of the deities and *Kaivalya Mukti*.

INCOMPLETENESS OF THE IMAGES :

Lord Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā and Sudarśana are being worshipped in the temple of Lord Jagannātha at Puri as *Caturdhā-Mūrtti* (fourfold-images) out of these four deities, the first three are worshipped with their present forms, while, the fourth one Sudarśana is worshipped as a symbol. He has no form. He symbolises Time and Change. He is a link between the other three forms. During the Ratha Yatrā festival this Sudarśana form is taken to the chariot first. According to *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā*[61]. Sudarśana is *Kāḷa Cakra* and was created first. So, it is brought first to the Chariot and kept with Subhadrā, the Goddess Śakti who represents the Vedic Cosmic order *Ṛta* that governs over time and space and brings about all the changes in the Universe. Prof.

K.C. Mishra[62] analyses that Subhadrā is the symbol of the manifest order of the changeable whole. In *Pañcarātra Āgama*, Sudarśana is conceived as Mahāviṣṇu. The Pañcasakhā philosophers of Orissa describe him as *Jyoti Puruṣa*. He is depicted as *Stambharūpī* (Pillar-like) in the *Nilādri-Mahodayam*[63].

Our *Purāṇa* the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā*[64] mentions four images, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, Jagannātha and Sudarśana. The concept of Mahāviṣṇu is also given in this *Purāṇa*[65]. The incompleteness of the three deities are depicted in the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā*[66]. The present forms of the deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā in Śrīmandira seem to be incomplete in make. Some scholars attribute this to undeveloped aboriginal art, while others regard the seeming incompleteness of form as the symbolic manifestation of the inconceivable *Brahma*[67]. Our *Purāṇa Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* also adheres to the same conception. According to it, the deities are four in number with their incomplete forms symbolizing *Brahmamūrti*[68] the shape of *Brahma*. The incomplete images of the deities aptly symbolize the infinite baffling to ordinary apprehension.

So, the forms have remained partly intelligible, partly conceivable and partly inconceivable. The *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā*[69] depicts that the images are formless, diseaseless and sinless, and full of *Brahma*. These images are thus the manifestations of *Brahma* which is all pervading and omnipresent.

COLOURS OF THE DEITIES :

The deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā of Śrīmandira are of different colours which symbolize the mysterious character of each one of them. The *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* mentions that the colour of Balabhadra is white[70], that of Jagannātha is black[71] and Subhadrā's colour is yellow[72]. The white colour of Balabhadra represents the synthesis of all the colours, and the black of Jagannātha signifies not only colourlessness, but also the negation of all colours. The yellow colour of Subhadrā signifies the embodiment of *Prakṛti*. These three colours white, yellow and black corespond to *Satva*, *Raja* and *Tama* concept of the philosophy.

The *Sātvik* colour is white, *Rājasa* red or yellow, while Tāmasa, as a symbol of darkness is black[73]. Accordingly, the colour of Balabhadra, who is *Sātvika* character, is white. Though the *Skanda Purāṇa* and the *Nilādri-Mahodayam* describe the colour of

Subhadrā as red[74], she is at present appeared in yellow colour which unveils the *Prakṛti* character of the Goddess Subhadrā. Finally, Tāmasa or black colour of Lord Jagannātha suggests the mystery that surrounds the supreme Lord. As Balabhadra represents Śiva and Jagannātha is Viṣṇu himself, the *Śukra Nīti* prescribes white colour for the images of Śiva and black for that of Viṣṇu[75].

KAIVALYA DARŚANA :

Kaivalya is the other name of the *Mahāprasāda* of Lord Jagannātha. The *Māhatmya* of *Kaivalya* is narrated in different *Tantra*-texts, *Purāṇas* and *Upa-Purāṇas*. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*[76] depicts that the *Māhatmya* of *Kaivalya* is unlimited. The *Dāru Brahma* himself is present in the *Kaivalya* which is therefore more popular than the deity. This *Mahāprasāda* of Lord Jagannātha is also called *'Anna-brahma'* since the *Brahma* himself is hidden in it. The presence of the deity is felt if the devotee possesses a grain of the *Prasāda*[77]. Our *Purāṇa Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* also describes the philosophy of *Kaivalya*[78]. According to it, one, who comes to this *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra* on the eve of *Mahābaiśākhīyoga* and takes *Kaivalya* here, attains *Mukti*. So, it is termed as *Kaivalya Mukti*[78A]. It is also said that the *Kaivalya* is hardly available to the gods. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, one, who takes *Mahāprasāda*, becomes free from all sins and finally attains salvation[79]. There is no restriction in taking the *Anna* (*Mahāprasada*) of Jagannātha temple by any people of any caste, any creed or any religion. People of different castes, creeds and religions can also take *Mahaprasāda* together. This custom is only prevalent in the Śrikṣetra. In this respect, *Bhaviṣya Puraṇa* admits that the people of lower caste, when takes or even touches it, becomes free from all the sins[80].

BRAHMA CONCEPT :

The *Vamadeva-Saṁhitā*[81] conceives Lord Jagannatha as *Brahma*. He is *Dāru Brahma*, *Param Brahma*, *Śabda Brahma* or *'Praṇava'*. The mystical basis of Upaniṣadic philosophy and relgion lies in *'Praṇava'*. The philosophy of *Brahma* and *Ātman* culminates in the philosophy of *Praṇava*. The characteristics of *Brahma* have been clearly explained in our *Purāṇa Vamadeva-Saṁhita*. This *Brahma* is Nirguṇa[82], *Nirlepa*[83], *Nirākara*[84] and *Saccidananda*[85].

Lord Jagannatha is considered as the product of the Vedantic concept of *Brahma*, *Śabda Brahma* and *Praṇava* is therefore regarded as *Daru Brahma*. The *Śabda Brahma* manifests itself in the triad of energies, viz., *Jñāna Śakti* (knowledge), *iccha Śakti* (Willpower) and *Kriyā Śakti* (action) alongwith the three *guṇas* (*Prakṛti*) i.e. *Satva*, *Rajaḥ* and *Tamaḥ*[86]. *Śabda Brahma* and *Param Brahma* are regarded as one and the same. The *Param Brahma* is *Advitīya*[87] and is present everywhere in the universe.

According to the *Upaniṣads*, the *Praṇava* or *Brahma* has four *Mātrās*. For example, in the case of *Ātman*, these four are *'Jagrata, Swapana, Suṣupti* and *Turīya'*; while those of *Brahman* are *'Vaiśvānara, Taijasa, Prajñā* and *Śāntam.'* Finally, in the case of *Praṇava*, these four are the four *Mātras A, U, Ma* and the *Turīya* (the fourth-one) is the *Jyoti*[88]. Thus, *Praṇava* is identified with *Śabda Brahma* and they are correlated with each other. In the *Saguṇa* sense, Lord Jagannātha is described as *Brahmaṇarūpa*[89]. Lord Jagannātha is the *Brahman*, the *Ānandam* and the *Parama Jyoti* as viewed by Upaniṣadic thoughts[90].

ŚRĪKṢETRA MAHĀTMYAM :

Like other *Purāṇas*, the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhitā* also gives philosophical touches to the visit of *Śrīkṣetra* (Puri). Even one can attain salvation by hearing the *Māhātmyam* of *Puruṣottama-Kṣetra*. His *ātmā* gets a place on the feet of Hari[91]. If one can see the three deities Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā on their chariots during the *Rathayātrā*, he/she can get a place in Haridhāma (Vaikuṇṭha-Bhūvana) and becomes free from rebirth[92]. Entire first chapter of the *Vāmadeva-Saṁhita* has been devoted to the description of *Śrīkṣetra Māhātmyam*, which is the greatest of all the *Kṣetras*[93].

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1. *Ṛgveda*, 7.104.5; 19.97, 4.5.8; 10.165.3

   Atharvaveda, 8.2.25; 8.7.2; 12.4.25; 13.4.42

2. Ray, B.L. *Studies in Jagannatha Cult*, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1993, P.13.

3. *Cf.* The *Sāmkhyakārika* of Iśvara Kṛṣṇa :

   Puruṣo'sti bhoktṛbhāvat ..../verse 17

*Puruṣabhutvaṁ siddham....../*verse 18

*—Siddham Sākṣitvam asya Puruṣasya/verse*19

and also the verse 21.

4. *Bhagavadgītā*, 15.16-18.
5. *Ṛgveda*, X.90.
6. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Bombay Edn., VI 239.
7. *Bhagavadgītā*, 11.13.
8. *Ibid*, 11.1. 26-29.
9. *Mahabhārata, Udyogaparva*, Adhy. 129;

   Ibid., Bhiṣmaparva, 35.5.31;

   Ibid., Āśvamedhikaparva, Adhy. 54.
10. *Bhagavadgītā*, XI. 18.
11. Ray, B.L., *Op. Cit.* P. 14.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, III, 19.
14. *Bhagavadgītā*, Ch. XV, *Śloka* 18.
15. Mishra, K.C., *The Cult of Jagannātha*, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1971, P. 180.
16. *Ibid*, p. 181 and fn. 80.
17. *Ibid*, and fn. 80a.
18. *Skanda Purāṇa, Utkala Khaṇḍa*, Ch. VIII, *Śloka* 32.
19. Mishra, K.C., *op. cit.*, P. 181.
20. *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, 6, 2-4.
21. *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* (VS) Ch. 32.
22. *Ibid*, 32.24; 32.32, 33.
23. *Ibid*, 32.31.
24. *Ibid*, 32.33.

25. *Ibid*, 32.31.

26. *Ibid*, 32.28.29.

27. *Ibid*, Chs. 1,4,7,13,16 etc.

28. *Ibid*, 1.2.

29. *Ibid*, 1.4.

30. Mukherjee, P. *The History of Medieval Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 123-142.

31. *VS*, 1.5; 18.73.

32. Das, B., *Sārasvata Gitā*, Ch. 1

33. Das, B., *Siddhānta Dambaru*, vide N.N. Basu, *Arch. Surv. of Mayurbhañja*, p.CXXXIII, *'Oṁ Suryabrahmaṇe namaḥ'.*

34. *Madhyanta Vibhāga-ṭikā*, *Levi's* Edition, p. 10.

35. Das, C., *Visṇugarbha Purāṇa*, Ch. III, Verse, 12-14.

36. Mishra, K.C., *op. cit.*, P. 159.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Das, Chaitanya, *Nirguṇa Mahatmya*, Ch. II.

39. *Jñanasiddhi*, P. 84.

    Also, *Cf.* Dasgupta, S.B., *Tāntric Buddhism*, Introduction, P. 88.

40. *Ibid.*

    Also, *cf.* Mishra, K.C., *op. cit.*, P. 160

41. In Chapter III of *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gitā, Adimatā* is represented as the universal space extending in ten directions.

42. *Ibid.*

43. *Ibid*, Ch. II.

44. *Ibid*, Ch. III.

45. *Śunya Saṁhitā*, Ch. IX.

46. *Ibid*, Ch. IV.
47. *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gitā*, Ch.V.
48. *Vedāntasāra Gupta Gitā*, Ch. VII.
49. *Saptāṅga Yoga Sāra Ṭikā*, P. 3.
50. *Śiva Svarodaya*, P. 4.
51. *Chayaḷiśa Paṭaḷa*, Paṭaḷa No. 21. *Viraṭa Gitā*, Ch. IV.
52. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛta*, Ch. XII.
53. *Gupta Gita*, Ch. III.
54. *Chayaḷiśa Paṭaḷa*, *Paṭaḷa* No. 30.
55. Mishra, K.C. *op. cit.*, P. 167 and fn. 59.
56. *Viraṭa Gita*, Ch. IV.
57. Das B., *Saptaṅga Yogasara Tikā*;

    Das, Y., *Śiva Svarodaya*.
58. *Niladri-Mahodayam*, 6. 22a.
59. Ray, B.L., *op. cit.*, P. 15.
60. Mishra, K.C., *op. cit.* P. 154.
61. *Ahirbudhnva Saṁhita*, Ch. 33, *Śloka* 8.
62. Mishra, K.C. *op. cit.*, P. 179 and fn. 77.
63. *Niladri-Mahodayam*, (Ed.) B.L. Ray, Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1998, *Śloka* 4.10b.
64. *VS.*, 7.8.
65. *Ibid*, 2.34.
66. *Ibid*, 5.32.33.
67. Ray, B.L., *Jagannātha Cult : Origin, Rituals, Festivals, Religion and Philosophy*, Kant Publications, Delhi, 1998, P. 238.
68. *V.S.*, 5.32b:

    Caturmurttidharaṁ devaṁ Brahmamurttiṁ niramayam

69. *V.S.*, 1.7,8.
70. *Ibid*, 13.2.
71. *Ibid*, 13.13.
72. *Ibid*, 16.26.
73. *Śukra Nīti*, P. 261.
74. Ray, B.L. *Jagannātha Cult, op. cit.*, P. 239 & fn. 4.
75. *Śukra Nīti*, P. 261.
76. *Nilādri-Mahodayam*, B.L. Ray's edition, *op. cit*, 10.134b.
77. Ray, B.L., *Jagannātha Cult, op. cit.* P. 244 and fn. 60.
78. *VS.* 28.68.
78A. *Ibid.*
79. *Niladri Mahodayam, op. cit.*, 10.129.
80. Ray, B.L., *Jagannātha Cult, op. cit.*, P. 244 and fn. 63.
81. *VS.*, 18.73; 1.5.8,28.
82. *Ibid*, 18.73; 1.12.
83. *Ibid*, 1.7; 18.73.
84. *Ibid*, 1.7, 8.
85. *Ibid*, 18.76.
86. *Niladri-Mahodayam, op. cit.*, 51.13a; 51.12.a; 51.14a.
87. *Ibid*, 6.53a.
88. *Maṇḍukyopaniṣad*, Śl. 1-2.
89. *Niladri-Mahodayam op. cit.*, 6.63b.
90. *Maṇḍukyopaniṣad, Sūtra* V, *Śloka* 1.
    Chāndogya Upaniṣad, Mantra 10.
91. *VS.*, 1. 55.
92. *Ibid*, 16.28, 29.
93. *Ibid*, 1.3.

BOOK REVIEWS

Wörterbuch Zum Ṛigveda, Hermann Grassmann, First Indian Edition, Motilal Banarsidass, 41, U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, 1999, Pp. VIII+1775, Rs. 2500/-

Of scholars who turned to Indology from other disciplines Grassmann stands among the tallest. After qualifying in theology and mathematics he became a teacher of mathematics first at Berlin and later in his home town stettin, where he taught until his death on 26.9.1877. He was a veritable polymath credited with discoveries in Physics, contributor to folklore studies and botanics and composition of text books in German.

Disappointment on the failure of his mathematical works, which were later called "most birlliant works of all times", led Grassmann to take up Sanskrit "for recreation" from 1849 onwards. He compiled the dictionary of the *Ṛigveda* for his own use and it was published from Leipzig in 1873 and followed by a translation of the *Ṛgveda* in German verse in two volumes in 1876 and 1877. The 6th revised and supplemented edition of the dictionary was prepared by M. Kozianka and she added some references overlooked by Grassmann, took the context into account and even added a reverse index. It was published from Wiesbaden in 1996 (6th revised edition). The present Indian edition is its reprint.

One has to face some difficulties in consulting the *Wörterbuch*. First and foremost is of course the knowledge of German or at least the help of a German-English dictionary that is needed for using it; the Sanskrit words are in Roman script and their meaning in German. The references to the *Ṛgveda* are not given in the traditional and generally adopted division of the text into *maṇḍalas* but in a consecutive numbering of the *sūktas* - from 1 to 1017. To solve this problem one will have either to enter Grassmann's numbers into one's own copy of the *Ṛgveda* or to use Geldner's translation as a concordance. Also one has to compensate for the fact that the *Wörterbuch* does not take note of latest researches in Vedic studies. In spite of these minor problems Grassmann's dictionary of the *Ṛgveda* remains one of the most important tools for the serious student of the oldest text. His German translation of the *Ṛgveda* is regarded as polished and easy and the meanings in his dictionary largely sound and dependable even after 120 years of its publication.

The publishers have therefore done a great service to the cause of Ṛgvedic studies by making this work available in a nicely printed and well-bound compact volume, much like the original German edition, at a price which, considering its limited potential for sale, appears to be reasonable.

Needless to say that an English version of the *Wörterbuch* remains a desideratum.

O.P. Bharadwaj

The Vedic People - Their History and Geography, Rajesh Kochhar, Orient Longman Ltd., 1/24 Asaf Ali Road, New Delhi 2000, Pp. xiv +259; PB Rs 250/-

Rajesh kochhar's book, as the title suggests, is expected to enlighten the reader, generally about the Vedic people and particularly about their history and geography. The writer has reason to feel highly gratified that within the year of its publication it has earned him not only the position of the author of a best-seller by running into a reprint of its first edition and another edition in paper back but also flattering encomiums all around.

The book has grown out of the text of the Kosambi Memorial Lecture delivered by the author in Delhi on 16 October 1992. It is divided into ten chapters entitled Arrow of Time, The Problem, Literary Sources of Ancient History, Purāṇic History, Archaeological Setting, Indo-Iranian Habitat, Ṛgvedic Rivers, Indo European and Indo-Iranian, Ṛgvedic People and other Indic speakers, Ramayaṇa and Mahābharata, and Concluding Remarks. These are preceded by a list of Illustrations, List of Tables, Scheme of Transliteration and Preface, and followed by Notes, References and Index.

Kochhar's account of the Vedic People opens in the Eurasian steppes north of the Black and Caspian seas where their ancestors, the Proto-Indo-European speakers were a pre-historical entity. They started dispersing when they were already riding horses and using wheeled vehicles. Their undifferentiated Indo-Iranian speaking groups moved northwards in C. 2000 B.C. and spread over Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan upto River Indus. The merger of the non-Ṛgvedic Indic speakers with the post-urban Harappans led to the establishment of the various late Harappan cultural phases. In C. 1700 B.C. another group of Indic speakers settled in south Afghanistan in the land of Farahrud and other rivers, which is the Sapta-Sindhu of the Ṛgveda and Hapta-Hindu of the Avesta. They took to composition of the Ṛgvedic hymns in the region between the Helmand and the Arghandab. Here were the Ikṣvakus and

Rama in 1450 B.C. while Ravaṇa's Laṅka was a small island in the middle of River Indus. The Ṛgvedic people were the authors of the Swat V culture and they moved eastward to the middle Indus in C. 1400 B.C. Eventually they absorbed the country and people to found the P. G. W. culture in C. 850 B.C. in Punjab and on the upper Ghaggar from where they moved to the Gaṅgā plain after the use of iron became wide spread. During their migrations, the Indo-Aryans took along their poetry and religious belief and also place and river names, which they selectively reused.

This story is the result of the author's examination of "the evidence in totality". What does "evidence in totality" mean? It is the synthesis of data from a wide variety of fields including linguistics, literature, archaeology, geomorphology, astronomy, metallurgy, geology, natural history and history of science and technology and even genetics (Pp.xiii and 14). The author's own discipline happens to be astro-physics, a branch of astronomy which applies the laws of physics to the study of interstellar matter and the stars, their constitution, evolution, Luminosity etc. How closely related to Indian pre-history or Indology is astrophysics? Well, does it matter? After all Indology is too important a matter to be left to Indologists (P.9).

A glance at the section containing notes shows that the author has relied on secondary sources. He does not appear to be proficient in Sanskrit not to speak of Vedic Sanskrit. Therefore, he cannot be expected to be abreast with recent reserches in Vedic exegesis. Nor is he a professional archaeologist. And even archaeologists differ in the case with astronomical and philological evidence. Let us therefore, restrict ourselves to a very brief review of his geography and history.

Considering the importance accorded to the Sarasvati river its identification is the sheet anchor of Vedic geographical setting. Kochhar declares it to be the same as the *Avestan* Haravaiti, now called Arghandab. However, he identifies it not with the Arghandab but with the Helmand which, according to him, empties itself into an inland lake in Seistan, called Hāmun-e-Sabari. Actually *hāmun* does not denote a lake but the geographical phenomenon of a sandy plain where rivers disappear. Kochhar converts the desert into a lake since the Ṛgvedic Sarasvati is described as flowing from the mountains to the ocean. Apart from this *Ṛgveda* iii. 23, 4 mentions the Sarasvati along with Dṛṣadvati and the Āpaya and a lake named Manuṣa as a site fit for performing sacrifice. Manuṣa is well known in Vedic Literature as the name of a lake and site. In the *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* (iii, 245)Kṣatra son of Pratardana is said to have been attacked here by ten Kings during the Daśarajña war. The *Mahabharata* locates it a *Krosa* to the west of the Apaya-Apagā. Only about eight killometres away from it lies another Vedic town Kapiṣṭhala, Alberuni's Kavital and now the district headquarters of Kaithal, after which the *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā* is named. Kochhar's identification of Dṛṣadvatī with Arghandab-Harahvaiti and of the Āpaya with Tarnak is therefore arbitrary. Dṛṣadvatī-Aśmanvati (Stony) is, as matter of fact, the same as Pathrala-Sonb (Stony) in whose joint bed now the western Jumma canal flows from the Dadupur syphon-dam onward. There is absolutely no justification for the identification of Arjikīyā with the Arghastan, of the Rasa with Amu Darya, of the Hariyupīyā with Iryab, of the Yavyāvati with the Zhob and the Sarayū with the Harirūd. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the original Gaṅgā and Yamunā could be the tributaries of the Helmand or that the lakes Śaryaṇāvat and Anyatahplalṣa could be placed in the Koh-e-Baba hills. To imagine Kurukṣetra near the Indus with its capital on the river and to equate the Vindhyas with Baluch hills is nothing but a piece of unbridled speculation.

In the name Harirūd, rūd means river. The name of the river is therefore Hari, which does not permit even a distant linguistic relationship with Sarayu. Hariyūpīyā is not the name of a river but of a town and has been finally identified with Harappa, Yavyāvatī again is not the name of a river but an adjective meaning "a locality rich in streams".

If 900 BC is accepted as the date of completion of the composition of the *Ṛgveda* some of the oldest *Brāhmaṇas* like the *Jaiminiya*, the *Taittirīya*, the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha* have to be taken as contemporaneous with the *Vedas* or too close to them to reflect any major geographical changes. The older *Upanisads* along with their *Araṇyakas* form a part of their respective *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (viii.1.1) thus reflects the geography of the Vedic age when it describes Kurukṣetra as the sacrificial altar of gods and makes it virtually coterminous with the present state of Haryana with Khāṇḍava or the tract around the old site of Inderpat in Delhi as its southern half, Srughna or the region above the old site of Sugh near Jagadhari as its northern half, Pariṇat or the area between Sothi and Hanumangarh as its western half and Marus of the marwar desert as its lower end. The precision and accuracy of this geographical definition completely rules out the possibility of any change in its nomenclature or boundaries in the Vedic age and even later. The *Jaiminiya Brahmaṇa* (iii.64) locates the lake Śaryaṇavat in the back part of Kurukṣetra while according to the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa* (xi. 5.1.4) Anyatahplakṣa too is the name of a lake in Kurukṣetra.

The Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī, which the minor streams Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā joined, could be a river of Haryana only. This is clear from the identification of the source (plakṣaprasravaṇa)and the vanishing point (Vinaśana)of the Sarasvatī with the source and ending point respectively of the Ghagger. It is preposterous to equate the Ghaggar which, in its upper reaches has always some water in it, with other insignificant rainy season rivulets of Haryana and to call it a puny rainwater stream (page 127). It is the continuity of the wide bed of the ghaggar that has been traced right upto the Runn of Kachh. In Ṛgvedic times its source lay in high Himalayan glaciers and it flowed right to the ocean. This identification is confirmed beyond doubt by its description in the Vedic literature followed by the Epics, the *Purāṇas* and even Tantric works.

The description of the geography of Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as "confused" reflects only the author's ignorance. As far as the tract between the Satluj and the Yamuna is concerned Vālmiki describes most accurately the rivers, towns and forests like Śatadru, Ailadhāna, Ajakūlā, Bhuliṅgas, Āgneyī, Śaradaṇḍā, Śalyakarṣaṇa, Kiranatsya, Kurujāṅgala, Bhāruṇḍa and Caitraratha in their absolutely correct geographical context.

All the Vedic geographical names transported to Afghanistan by the author thus, in reality, relate to Kurukṣetra or roughly the present state of Haryana. There are quite a few more that belong to the same region: Āsandīvat-Asandh (district Karnal in Haryana), Kārotī (a preharappan site near Nohar in Rajasthan), Srughna, Pṛthūdaka, Rohitaka and Khāṇḍavaprastha or Indraprastha. In case of the lesser known first two it may be noted that Āsandīvat finds montion in the *Aitareya* (viii.21)and *Śatapatha* (xiii, 5.4.2) *Brāhmaṇas* as the capital of the great king Janamejaya Pārikṣita while his father Parikṣit is lauded in the *Atharvaveda* (xx, 127.7.7.10.) Kārotī is the place where, according to the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa* (ix, 5.2.15.)Tura Kāvaṣeya, the priest of Janamejaya Parikṣita, erected a fire-altar for gods.

All this evidence notwithstanding, the author, like someone shifting his household lock, stock and barrel, has transplanted the vast region of Kurukṣetra with all its geographical paraphernalia, in Afghanistan, dragging along the Gaṅgā and Yamunā and landing the Vindhyas in Balochistan and Lanka in an unknown island of the Indus!

So much for Kochhar's geography of Vedic people. Now their history :

Of the people mentioned in the Veda only a few minor ones have been casually noticed following Hillebrandt whose views are not fully accepted by other eminent scholars in the book. These include the Druhyus, Dāsas, Dasyus, Pārāvatas and Paṇis who are known to have moved west-northwestwrd. According to Hillebrandt Paṇis were known to the Iranians as Parnoi or Parnians and not Panas as the book says. In vain would the reader expect the author to disclose some connection, even if only a remote one, with Afghanistan of prominent, Vedic tribes like the Bharatas, Tṛtsus, Purus, Turvaśas, Yadus, Anus, Matsyas, Kīkaṭas and several others. He assigns Rāma to 1450 B.C. in Afghanistan when the *Ṛgveda* remained under composition from C. 1700 to C. 900 B.C. but fails to explain why Rāma and his story finds no mention in it and why the Iksvaku dynasty had no role in its composition even though the name Ikṣvāku does occur in it. Regarding Purūravā's epithet Aila, meaning a descendant of Ilā he thinks the story of Ilā was made out of the epithet. For the origin of the epithet itself he has again no explanation to offer.

He does not tire of speaking of the Indo-Iranians, non Ṛgvedic Indic speakers and the Ṛgvedic people while being utterly unable to clearly indentify them. "A Ṛgvedic statement" He says, "may apply to a section of the Ṛgvedic people or to all of them. It may apply to a fraction or all of the Indo-Iranian speakers outside the Ṛgvedic pale." Again he declares that "the Ṛgvedic people were stationed in the Helmand area in south Afghanistaṅ, where they composed the bulk of the Ṛgvedic hymns" and there is enough evidence to relate them with the Swat culture. In the next breath he admits that archaeological and chrnological data are still needed from the region between the Helmand and the Arghandab and from the banks of the Harirūd. This is followed with a pure and simple conjecture that the Helmand-Arghandab *doab*, if excavated, would reveal signatures of the Ṛgvedic times. Is this not an admission of the fact that the edifice he has erected has no foundation whatsoever to stand upon?

In a dialogue in *Ṛgveda* (3.33). the seer Viśvāmitra addresses the two rivers Satluj and Beas in a compound from Vipātchutudri in verse 1. Later in Verse 3 Beas is mentioned alone. From this Kochhar concludes that Viśvāmitra was proceeding from west to east as he addresses the Vipāś first. Actually Viśvāmitra is addressing the combined stream of the two rivers and the position of Vipāś in the compound is the requirement of the meter. On the other hand his description of Vipāś in verse 3 appears to suggest that he was seeing it for the first time having already been familiar with the Śutudri. Nor would it be natural for Viśvāmitra to see the combined stream of the two rivers before reaching Vipāś alone if he was coming from the west. Furthermore if the enumeration of river names could be any indication their mention from the Gaṅga in the east to the Sindhu and its tributaries in the west in the River hymn (*Rgveda* x. 75) constitutes the most significant evidence of the movement of the Vedic people from the east to the west. In needs to be noted that the seer of this well-known hymn was named Sindhukṣit, meaning one staying on the river Sindhu.

Kochhar visualises mobile units of people entering India along with their cattle, ox-wagons, horses and chariots through the rocky and inhospitable terrain of Afghanistan 3000-3500 years ago. Following Burrow he says that the Vedic people led a nomadic life, setting up villages and abondoning them to return to the area again in contrast to the sedentary life-style of the Harappans. The remnants of abandoned villages were, according to Burrow, known as *arma* and it is on this meaning that Burrow's theory rested. The author is, of course, unaware of the fact that this interpretation of Burrow was refuted by Ram Gopal more than 25 years ago and it was shown that *arma* actually denoted 'a lake'. It is also wrong to say that the performers of Dārṣadvata *sattras* or sacrificial sessions casually moved over to the Yamunā for bath from the source of the Dṛṣadvatī. The fact is that a Dārṣadvata sacrificial session was of very long duration, often lasting more than a year and the sacrificers could spend any number of days reaching the Yamunā which involved a long journey from the source of the Dṛṣadvatī near Ad Badri. Existence of the old Yamunā in Afghanistan is a gratuitous assumption as the present river is flowing in the same bed for the last 2000 years (page 136).

Most of the facts given above are available in research works which were accessible to the author but he has avoided taking note of them or refuting them. Why?

"It often seems to me as if history is like a child's box of letter, with which we can spell any word we please. We have only to pick out such letters as we want, arrange them as we like, and say nothing about those which do not suit our purpose." These words of James Anthony Froude, written one hundred and forty years ago, can be as relevant today as ever. In a chapter studded with homilies and clichés Kochhar expounds his view of history declaring that "our interpretation of the past depends upon our perception of the present. That is why history cannot provide proof, it can only provide illustration." This allows the author freedom to begin with a preconceived notion, decide what counts as evidence and what not, take note of evidence that suits him, tailor it according to his fancy and ignore that which does not fit into his scheme.

The result is that the author has not, in fact, faithfully produced a geography and history of the Vedic people but rather like a novelist only given the appearance of doing so. For those genuinely interested in the subject this work will be not only of little use but unfortunately hopelessly misleading.

O.P. Bharadwaj

The Language of the Harappans : From Akkadian to Sanskrit, Malati J. Shendge, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi 1997, Pp. XX+314, HB. Rs. 700/-.

Many scholars have devoted their precious time and hard work to the study of the Harappan script without achieving any success. It is generally felt that in the absence of any bilingual inscription there is the danger of its remaining undeciphered. Ms Shendge took up the challenge and adopted a novel research strategy to facilitate a solution of the problem : Identify the language and the decipherment of the script will become easy. This is precisely what the author has done in a study which is presented as a "first breath of free enquiry" even if admittedly "unconventional" (p. xiv). It is a different matter if it looks like putting the cart before the horse.

The Language of the Harappans has for its background the author's earlier book, *"The Civilised Demons : The Harappans in Ṛgveda* (1977)." In the present work, equipped with 'Acknowledgements,a Prefactory Note, list of illustrations, Abbreviations, an Appendix, a list of Sanskrit-Akkadian and Sanskrit-Sumerian words, and an Index, spanning 11 chapters divided with 40 sections she has undertaken the onerous task of tracing the Harappans to the Akkadians and the Sanskrit language to the Akkadian (+ Sumerian) language. She concludes that the region from the Tigris-Euphrates to the Indus and its east was inhabited by a mixed population of Akkadian-speaking Semites who later called themselves as Ashshurain, named Asura in the *Ṛgveda*. These Akkadian (+ Sumerian) Harappans were cultural innovators who made a new beginning in their material life without making a total break with their past. At the same time migration to the Indus Valley was not a colonising activity since there is no evidence of their relations with their earlier homeland. Though they were Akkadian-speaking 'Asura' they may not be exactly the same clan which is known to us in West Asia through the cuneiform literature. Yet conceptual relationships and etymologies provide the final proof of their one time close relationship and mean that the whole cultural phenomenon viz. the Harappans and the *Ṛgvedic* belonged to them.

A large number of *Ṛgvedic* poems were composed around 2000 B.C in Akkadian and also perhaps wrote it. Between 2000-1500 B.C., possibly later, they changed into the language of the *Ṛgveda*. The so-called Aryas, destroyers of the Indus cities, adopted the Asura-Harappan culture and called it Aryan. Sanskrit, whose ever language it may be, whether of the Aryans or the Harappans, is, objectively speaking, the first surviving language on the Indian sub-continent. In the author's scheme of events the Indo-European postulate is a myth without any historical basis and is likely to remain so. It is not yet known if the Indian script is an adaptation of the Sumerian script. Western affiliations of the Harappan are obvious yet there is absence of obvious similarities between Harappan and Mesopotamian cultures. Northern Mesopotamia is not yet much investigated. The Harappan on their advent in India may or may not have brought the script with them. Old Akkadian cuneiform, not found in the Indus script now, may perhaps be found in the unexcavated 39' at Mohenjodaro although there are reasons to make it unlikely.

If there appears any prevarication or contradiction it cannot be helped since the words are more or less of the author.

The book was published in 1997. The latest references given by the author relate mostly to 1984-85 or earlier barring some rare instance from 1992-93. It is not surprising therefore if it appears to be already out of date. L.A. Waddell floated his theory relating to colonisation of India, the Mediterranean, Northwest Europe and England by the Phoenician-Aryan, of Sumer about 75 years ago but it was never taken seriously. The view advocating destruction of Indus cities by Aryan invaders has no adherents any more since it has been established beyond doubt that there was no mass intrusion into the Harappan matrix. Furthermore at Harappa, Kunal and Dholavira the phase of transition from pre-Harappan to mature Harappan has been found. The chronological bracket at Kunal is 3500-2500 B.C. and here have been discovered 36 different signs that were adopted by the mature Harappans in their script and 8 groups of two or three Mature Harappan writing characters.

As for the long lists of words meant to show Akkad-Sanskrit and Sumerian Sanskrit correspondence they cannot be taken to support the Akkadian and Sumerian origin of Sanskrit. If anything the Akkadian/Sumerian words appears to be corrupt forms of Sanskrit words these four pairs of words, selected at random will demonstrate :

Kṣiti-Kissatu
Cakra-Kakkaru
Ikṣvāku-Issiakku/Issakku
Uṣṭra-Udru

Could it not be said that each Sanskrit word has taken the ending it in Akkadian/Sumerian? In case of the last word *uṣṭra*, meaning camel there is an old story relating to Kalidasa on the lives of *Bhojaprabandha* stories. The learned princess, deceived into marrying him while he was still an uneducated simpleton, hears him mispronouncing the word *uṣṭra* on seeing a camel and exclaims in disgust against her father : *uṣṭra tumpati raṃ va ṣaṃ vā, tasmai dattā vipula nitambā; hanta! Karoti sa kiṃ na hi tuṣṭah, hanta karoti sa kiṃ na hi susta.* (In pronoucing *uṣṭra* he omits *ra* or *ṣa*, to him has a father given his beautiful daughter. Alas! What (good)doesn't he (father) do when pleased and what (harm) doesn't he do when annoyed!) *Utra* and *uṣṭa* are thus traditionally recognised corrupt forms of *uṣṭra*. Don't *utr* and *udr* (without *u* ending)sound as one and the same word! And *prakritisation* had already started by the time of the *Ṛgveda* as the occurrence of *śithira*= 'loose' instead of *śrithira*, as might be expected from the root *śrath*, would show.

According to the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa* (iii.2,1,18-23)the gods matched Vāk (speech)from the Asuras who are said to have inherited it from Prajapati. Shendge takes this to support her theory of Akkadian origin of Sanskrit. In reality it is only a flattering explanation of the poor pronunciation of the Asuras who are called *mṛdhravācaḥ* already in the *Ṛgveda*. It is futile to try to discover outside influence in the horned head dress on seals bearing Harappan figure because they may simply refer to the Viṣanins of the *Ṛgveda* (7.18.7.). Piggot and Woolley affirm the existence of colonies of Indian merchants in Sumer. Woolley names the cities of Urnk, Nippur and Babylon in this connection and places them around 2500-3000 B.C. If the Harppans and the *Ṛgvedic* people were identical then Sanskrit influence on Akkadian may not be an altogether impossible idea.

Ms Shendge considers it "likely that future excavations might yet reveal the actual home of the Harappans". From the facts available so far they are not likely to support her postulate.

Paper, printing and get up of this hard bound volume are excellent but the price excessive.

O.P. Bharadwaj

The Cultural Glory of Ancient India, Sures Chandra Banerji, D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd., F-52, Bali Nagar, New Delhi-110 015, Pp-546, Rs. 700/-

Sures Chandra Banerji has several books to his credit. This one, intended to provide a literary overview of ancient India has been brought out by the pulishers as no. 21 in their series, "Reconstructing Indian History, and Culture".

The author is right in saying in his Preface that cultural profile of ancient India is too vast to be described in a single volume. He has therefore offered to the general reader only most important and interesting topics and dealt with them in a brief compass and in language free from jargon.

A chronological table precedes the contents which run into 330 pages covering 24 chapters relating to as many topics including Vedic to Classical Sanskrit literature and also philosophical and technical works on subjects like *Tantra, Darśana, Arthaśastra, Smṛti, Kāmaśastra, Alaṅkāra, Nāṭya, Chanda, Sangīta, Vāstu, Aśva, Gaja, Kṛṣi* and *Gaṇitaśastra* and even *Āyurveda, Jyotiṣa, Udbhid* (Botany) and *Yuddha*. Popular beliefs and practices have also not been left out. There is a detailed glossery of more than 100 pages followed by a select bibliography of about 90 pages and a fairly exhaustive index of more than twenty pages.

An attempt to accommodate too much material into too little space creates difficulties and this has happened with Banerji's book also. Important topics get too cursory treatment. The whole of the Vedic literature from the *Ṛgveda* to the *Vedāngas* gets only 25 pages, *Purāṇas* only 5 and *Kamaśastra* or erotics only 3. Buddhist and Jaina literature, even that in Sanskrit, has not been noticed at all. Within the Vedic literature the *Brahmaṇas* are treated in 2+ pages and the *Araṇyakas* and *Upaniṣads* in only 4. The *Sutras* find no space. Comparatively *Yuddha* or war gets 20 pages and popular beliefs and practices 15. Frankly a glossary of more than 100 pages and a bibliography of 90 pages could have been reduced to less than one fourth to provide better and more detailed treatement to other important subjects. This is likely to be the feeling of the general reader.

To note only a few lapses, at page 324 *makara* in *makara-vyūha* has been rendered as a shark instead of a crocodile. At p. 149-150 and 535 Lakuliśa has been wrongly printed as Nakuliśa and at page 400 *Punarbhu* as Punabhu. In the chronological table the dates of the *Ṛgveda* are noted as 2500 or 2000 B.C. according to Winternitz and 12,500 B.C. according to David Frawley but later at page 280 it is said to have been generally assigned to 1500 B.C.

It is not clear which date the author recommends to the general reader.

Having said this it can be observed that the book contains much that the reader will find interesting and enlightening. The printing, paper and general get-up of this handy volume are praiseworthy and the price reasonable by to-day's standards.

O.P. Bharadwaj

The Wild Tribes of The Afghan Frontier, T.L. Pennell, ABI Prints and Publishing Co., 4B, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, Indian Reprint of the 4th ed., 1998, Pp. xiv + 323, Rs. 600/-

Dr. T.L. Pennell, author of the book before us remained posted as a medical missionary — in charge of a medical mission station at Bannur, on the North-West Frontier of India, now in Pakistan, for sixteen years. This volume contains an account of his experiences during a long contact with the Afghans and Pathans of the region.

There is a brief Introduction by F.M. Roberts followed by a Preface to the first edition and another Preface to the fourth edition by the author. The contents are divided into twenty-five chapters covering the whole gamut of the environment of the trans-Indus mountains and the social and religious life-style of its occupants including incident, episodes anecdotes illustrating their character, traditions and beliefs and the position of their women. Chapters are devoted even to Hindu ascetics and sadhus and faqirs and the author's own experience as a mendicant. The last two chapters deal with conclusions and suggestions for a forward policy. There is a map at p. 313, a Glossary of words not generally used outside India and an Index running into six pages.

Pennell clearly brings out, what he calls the strange medley of contradictory qualities in the Afghan character, in which courage blends with stealth, the basest treachery with the most touching fidelity, intense religious fanaticism with an avarice which will even induce him to play false to his faith, and lavish hospitality with an irresistible propensity for thieving, a peculiar idea of honour, his firm commitment to vendetta and blood-feud, a bully's love for cruelty and a natural tendency to bluff blended with a profound reverance for power or brute force.

While serious studies of Afghan-Pathan character like those from Mason, Holdich, Oliver, Warburton, Bellew, Rose and Ibbetson, would find favour with the scholar, Pennell's account will certainly be more interesting and therefore readable to the layman. That explains the four editions and a reprint of this old book. In the Preface to the first edition the author dedicates all his profits on the sale of the book to the construction of a hospital named after Lord Roberts and to the continuation of his medical mission which demonstrates his deep devotion to the cause of the Empire and Christianity which is indeed exemplary.

While the book is neatly printed and well got up with an attractive jacket it would perhaps be more popular with a slightly more inviting price-tag.

O.P. Bharadwaj

The Millennium Kabīr Vaṇī : A Collection of Pads, Winand M. Callewaert, Delhi, Manohar, 2000, Pp. IX+629, Rs. 950.00

The present book under review is from the pen of a foreign erudite writer expert in manuscriptology on medieval Indian devotional literature of Northern India. Professor Winand M. Callewaert (b. 1943) is a scholar of Sanskrit at the KULeuven, Belgium. He got his higher education in Hindi, Sanskrit and Philosophy from Ranchi, Pune, Banaras and Leuven universities. He has already made available his contribution to the researches in the devotional literature of Dādūpanthī *Sarvāṅgī, Pañca-Vāṇī,* Ravidas and so on. The book has been meticulously edited in collaboration with Swapna Sharma and Deiter Taillieu. The present research work is based on the manuscripts available in *Devanagri* script preserved in the Dādū Mahāvidyālaya, Jaipur. The oral tradition in the North reveals that Kabir never wrote a single hymn in his own hand.

He was born in Banaras c. CE 1500 and lived for 80 years. His songs remained in oral tradition for about two generations. It was a natural phenomenon that variations in regional dialects and folk metres occured due to space and time. Corruption in the oral tradition and scribal interpolations act like accumulation of fog, which creates variant recensions in the recorded manuscripts. Scribal errors creep in while transmitting from oral tradition to written manuscripts. It kept us away for a couple of centuries from the original utterances of the holy songs of the 15th-17th century

Bhaktas, literary contributions in the devotional treasure of the songs.

The Tamil Siddhas in the 6th CE. century were the first who revived Buddhism through their linguistic revolution of the vernacular Tamil dialect and new life and worldview of this world. The otherworldliness was dispensed with. Like Lord Buddha the Siddhas made a literary revolution by adopting Tamil dialect as genre of expression of their lyrical sayings. This wave of adaptation of regional dialects spread in other parts of southern India (Karnataka, Andhara Pradesh, Orissa). It was carried forth in Maharasthra from 11th to 13th centuries by the *Bhaktas* of Varkari cult. The most prominent among them are Jñanadeva, Nāmadeva, Tukārāma, et al. This wave cut across boundaries of Maharashtra when Nāmadeva came to the North. It penetrated into U.P., Rajasthan and Punjab as well.

It was a dauntless revolt of Kabir to critique the Vedic philosophy and the fossilized beliefs in the very heartland of the Hindu orthodoxy and to make a departure from the Sanskrit language which was deemed to be a divine language. Kabir preached in vernacular dialect of U.P. *(Khaḍi boli)* of the common folks. He and other *Bhaktas* popularized, liberalized and democratized the *Bhakti* cult among the downtrodden folks. Kabir was one of the strong trendsetters of the subaltern movement in the North.

In the medieval times it was a tradition among devotees of the saints to memorize holy sayings (*ipse dixits*) of their Gurus. They were the moving singers place to place or village to village. Before 16th century the paper had not come into being. It was in the 16th century the songs of the *bhaktas* were recorded in the *Paṇḍu lipi.* The devotees started recording the hymns on the paper. The oral tradition was converted into written records. It was not necessary that hymns of one saint were exclusively recorded in one breviary. The manuscripts contained hymns of many saints of different sects.

It is interesting to note that creative genius of the itinerant singers and musicians changed and modified the core verses to suit their metrical or musical requirements or to adopt themselves to the dialectical idioms of the audience. They also adjusted themselves to different folk tunes of the masses and the dialects of their respective regions. Such scribal variations are because of variant scribal errors and recensions. These variant recensions may be attributed to intentional or inadvertent interpolations adduced by the singers or scribes in the manuscripts. It is all for want of autograph manuscripts. These were recorded in the 16th century from the oral tradition. Perhaps, this is one of the root-causes of diversity of variant readings of the hymns. The Sikh Gurus tried to retrieve the pristine significance of the *padas* of Kabir and other *Bhaktas* from the hagiographic accounts current in the then oral traditions in different regions and at different times. In order to highlight variations in the recensions of the hymns the collated versions of the hymns have been given in the book. It would have been better if the collated charts with annotated and variant musical measures, metres, and semantic and phonetic structures could be added as footnotes. It will help the researchers to reach the archetypal or original version of the hymns. It would be pertinent to point out that so far no serious philosophical treatise on Kabīr Vāṇī has been produced by any Indian and foreign scholar. In the modern age of critical analysis and philosophical hermeneutic interpretation the medieval devotional literature is to be presented in the light of modern scientific and philosopical perspective. the present work will be of immense use for the creative researches to work out a coherent philosophical worldview of Kabīr. It can be articulated with the help of modern philosophical and scientific techniques of interpretations.

In the present review my main concern is with Kabīr's hallowed sayings (*ipse dixits*). These were primarily recorded from the travelling singers at one or different places and times. The collated versions of the hymns with variant readings are given in the comparative charts. In the strict sense of the term these charts can't be called critical expositions because there is no analytical analysis of the terms, music metres, rhyme scheme etc. etc.

Due to virulent criticism of the Vedic Brahmanism and ritualism Kabir became a charismatic religious personality and was popular among the subaltern masses. His sayings became part and parcel of the collective subaltern psyche. Some of his devotees composed parallel spurious hymns which were often attributed to him. These poetic compositions are called *bhāṇitas*. The present anthology will be useful for sorting out spurious and genuine sayings of Kabir. Despite of all drawbacks and shortcomings the present anthology is a fine specimen of insightful hard intellectual labour in paleography of medieval manuscripts. It has been meticulously deciphered from the Devanāgari and Gurmukhi scripts. The work contains three major versions of *Kabīr Vāṇī* in the North of India.

In the East we have *Bījak* from Barabanki and Kabīr Chaura, Banaras. Besides we have Syam Sunder Das's *Kabir Granthavali* (1928) which is claimed to be based on the manuscript of *Kabir Vaṇi* from the Nagari Pracaraṇi Sabha, Banaras. From the West we have manuscripts from Rajasthan from Dadu Mahavidyalaya, Jaipur, Sri Kripalu Sharma of the Sanjay Sharma Sangrahalaya, Jaipur, City Palace, Jaipur, Vidya Bhushan Sangraha, Jaipur, and personal collections of Seva Singh and Professor Bedi Singh. From the Punjab the editors have collected materials from *Mohan Ji Dian Pothian*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar "Preface" (p. VII). Other details are available on pages VIII-IX. Stemma of the repertoires (p.X.) of *Kabīr Vaṇī* gives a detailed chart of the manuscripts dating from CE 1570 to 1961.

Rajasthan is a treasure house of medieval devotional literature. Devotion to the books and manuscripts because of the belief that the divine word is trasured therein. For example, one such sect in Rajasthan is of Dadudyalya *panthis.* Their collection in Rajasthan is one of the major ones in their temples. Since c. 16th cetury Rajasthan had been the nucleus of literary activity. The Dādūpanthis prepared the encyclopedic anthologies of *Sarvangi* and *Pañca-Vāṇi* in the last decade of the 16th century. There have been too many manuscript collections (*Bhaṇḍaras*) in the Jaina centres, which are well known for preserving the religious literature. (see, pp. 1-14).

Due to geographical contiguity of Punjab, the population was migratory. Owing to famines of Rajasthan used to move to plains of the Punjab during rainy period. The singers and other devotees of *Bhakta* Kabīr and other *Bhaktas* also used to move to the plains of Punjab. Guru Nanak (CE 1469-1539) was the first Guru who started collecting hymns of other *Bhaktas* and *Sufi* saints like Farīd, Bhikhā, Sadna, et at. He might have collected the manuscripts from the religious centres or from the itinerant *sadhus* and folk musicians during his spiritual travelogues (*udasis*) to different parts of India and abroad to Muslim countries. In the Sikh tradition breviary of the holy sayings of the religious dignitaries irrespective of their religious affiliations were recorded in one manuscript. Preparation of the edited and canonized version of the Sikh Canon from Guru Nanak to Guru Gobind Singh (d. CE 1708) is a landmark in the religious history of India because it was prepared under the personal supervision of the Gurus themselves. In the Sikh tradition breviaries of the holy sayings of the Gurus, *Bhaktas* and *Sufi* saints was revered as an embodiment of Almighty God (i.e. *pothi parmeśvara ka than*). In order to put a permanent check on interpolation on the spurious hymns of the minor poets the IIIrd Guru Amardas undertook the arduous job of compiling and preparing the authenticated breviaries, called *Mohanji Kian Pothian* or *Goind Wālian Pothian* (CE 1770-1772). And Guru Gobind Singh apotheosized the Sikh Canon as *śabda-guru* at Nanded (Maharashtra).

Details of number of *pādas* in the, Kabīr Granthāvili, Kabir *Bījak* and the *Guru Granth Sahib* are given on page 23. On page 24 it has been pointed out that 221 *pādas* available in the Sikh Canon only 132 are found in the manuscripts consulted by the editor. When collated with the manuscripts from Rajasthan, it was found that forty-five *pādas* out of one hundred and thirty two *padas* are also available in Rajasthan. It may be pointed out that one *pāda* can be sung in different *rāgas*. I have perused some manuscripts in which some hymns have almost same similes, epithets, examples and metaphors. Influence of Kabīr's Rāma *Bhaktī* could not penetrate into the Brij land of Vrindaban where Caitanya and Sūrdāsa had set in a movement of revival of Kṛṣṇa *Bhaktī* in the 15th century.

The work is composed of the alphabetical first line "Index" (pp. 65-73), availability of *pādas* (pp. 75-102), *rāga* structure (pp. 103-112) and text of *Kabīr Vāṇi* (115-629). The work is decisively a preeminent contribution in the field of medieval devotional literature. It is a valuable teasure-trove of authentic sayings of Kabir. Many knotty problems related with Kabir can be solved with the help of the present work. We should be grateful to the editor and his colleagues who rendered help to him for bringing out such an elegant flawless book. The publisher deserves all appreciation for such a fine production and get up of the book.

Nirbhai Singh

Preacing Vedānta, Swamiji Irainban, Delhi : Abhinav : 1997. Pp. Xiii+336. Rs. 350.00

The book under review by Swamiji Iraianban is on the preaching of *Vedānta*. It contains vital twenty-five issues related to *Vedānta*. The sub-headings are value of birth life, true bliss (*ananda*), self-realization, renunciation, paths to salvation, mind, power of words, love, *kuṇḍalini*, *yoga*, oneness with God, Guru, *mantras*, self-consciousness, *samathṇ*, supreme Almighty, universal university, experience, religions and their concepts, incarnation, beliefs, wisdom, devotion, *dharma*, prayer, universal brotherhood and other concepts of the *Vedānta*. These topics have been explained in simple and clear language. The author has devoted his life for the cause of preaching the Vedāntic philosophy to the devoted followers of the faith. The author deserves congratulations that he has devoted this work to the universal motherhood, which is the manifest primordial deity of all and sundry. The contents of the book also reveal that the book is not meant for serious research scholars or experts. It is meant for the devout laity or the educated persons who want to have a general hang of the Vedāntic spiritual world-view. The book is an anthology of the talks, which were delivered in the temples or religious places where devoted or religious might have been the audience. Such persons might have been attending Swami's lectures or discourses. The exposition of the book is exegetical and is based on the traditional interpretations of the religious persons. Those who are interested in having a general hang or world's eye view of the *Vedānta* it can be useful handy book.

The author is a well versed impressive preacher of the Vedāntic spirituality. He was a science student, but he developed interest in spiritual thought of the Vedāntic philosophy of India. From the point of view of Indian philosophy in general and the *Vedānta* in particular the purpose of human life is self realization or having a union with the supreme Reality (*Brahman*). Like the ancient *ṛṣis* of the hoary past the author has dedicated his life for the emancipation of humanity through proper preaching the Vedāntic philosophy of spirituality which transcends rational understanding.It is an object of pure intuition.It is ineffable and transcends all linguistic contours of epistemic comprehension.It can be realized with intuition.Thus,we should not develop skeptic and agnostic attitude towards spiritual reality.Our rational comprehension and practical religious practices (*sādhanā*) can take us to the threshold of reality(*satya*), but cannot peep into reality as such.Realization of reality depends on our personal efforts and devotion.All these do not help us until grace of Almighty is bestowed upon us.

Being a spiritualist and having developed gift of the gab,the author delivered more than 4000 talks on the Vedāntic spirituality at different religious places.Apart from only a writer he is a poet,orator and is well versed in palmistry, astrology, music and in other fields.

In order to understand the central themes of the book scattered in different chapters;let us take up some of the contents, which have been explained in twenty-five chapters.The first chapter is concerned with "Human life" with its subtitles,'knowledge of Human life','Divinity within Man','Who is "I"?','The value of Human Birth'.These four questions are very significant in the Vedantic philosophy. Human life in the *Vedānta* is considered unique as compared to lower species because only man is capable of realizing his real self while living in the world.Such a person is called *jīvanmukta*.The author has pinpointed that human life has originated from the supreme *Brahman* and it will return to its original source.It is only at human level self-realization is possible. After the Vedic period the *Upaniṣads* held the view that reality is to be realized from within the human body. In other words man is divine from within.This concept we find in almost all the religious traditions of the world religions.

Then the next most important philosophical issue in the East and the West is to find out the nature of the 'I'.Under the subheading of the 'the value of Human Birth'the author concentrates on the key concept that the divine will (*ṛta*) is the real source of inspiration for elevating man from this worldiness to the realm of spirituality.

The second chapter deals with"Goal of Life".The author has correctly pointed out that in the Vedantic terminology the goal of human life is to attain bliss(*ānanda*).When the sensuous self transcends its bodily self, it is attuned to the spiritual self who is identical with the cosmic Self(*Brahman*).The source of realizing the Supreme Being is through meditation, *yoga*, and other spiritual practices.The third chapter is entitled *"sat chit ānanda"* which is the culmination of spiritual meditation.It creates balance in the intellect.Human self acquires aquilibrium of the self.The ensuing fourth chapter deals with the concept of 'Self-realization" which is the ultimate aim of human life in the Vedāntic philosophy.

In the remainder chapters the author has used the same exegetical method of exposition. Keeping in mind the standard of the audience and the readers the author has not gone into the semiotic significance of the concepts of *Vedānta*. He has ignored the vital aspect of writing a book. The meanings, which were prevalent in the ancient times, are no more acceptable to the present audience. In the modern times the scholars expect of the author that the exposition should have been analytical and critical. The serious scholars will be disappointed on this account.

The Vedantic philosophy was propounded in the ancient time in about more than two thousand and five hundred years hence. The contributors of the Vedāntic thought are no more. And the reader and the audience have changed. During this period language has also changed tremendously. In the present age the reader wants exposition in the modern idiom. More the meaning or significance, which was in mind of the then authors, has under gone change. Many new dimensions have been added to it. It is, therefore, the author should have kept all these things in mind.The reviewer is of the opinion that the author is not aware of all these modern tools of interpretations. I doubt that the reader will show keenness in reading this work with deep interst. The author has not bothered to prepare a bibliography and an index which are very necessary for such a work. The book deals with Sanskrit language.The words and characters should have diacritical marks for the convenience of the non-Sanskrit knowing readers, both Indian and foreigners. At the end I should say that this is just an addition of a book on the *Vedānta.*

Nirbhai Singh

Souhern Silk Road - In the Footsteps of Sir Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin, Christoph Baumer, pp. XII+152, Illustrations 129, maps and plans XIII, Published by Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2000, $45.

The Silk Road connecting China with the Western World through the Tarim Basin and the inhospitable Taklamakan Desert has been one of the major international land routes for trade for more than two millennia. The dangerous and strenuous journey through this region that has taken countless lives of travellers, traders, preachers and adventurers has not deterred courageous persons to traverse the path one after the other and also to look for the new ones. The 19th and 20th centuries saw several archaeologists explore this region of Central Asia and bring to light wonderful cultural remains of the past that helped reconstructing its history. As the title of the book under review itself indicates Sir M. Aurel Stein and Sven Hedin made valuable contribution in the field preparing the ground for further work by generations to come. The present work is a result of following the path laid by these pioneers though not without originality of thought and approach.

The book, first published in German in 1996 and then in

English in an expanded and revised version, is based on the valuable data collected by Christoph Baumer in two of his expeditions in 1994 and 1998. It contains much new material that supplements and corroborates the earlier finds but has been interpreted afresh and presented in a lucid style. The twelve chapters into which the book has been divided deal with almost every archaeological and historical aspect of the Central Asian Kingdoms including the role played by China and Tibet in the region. The author provides a good background of the subject by portraying a picture of the geography, climate and people of the Tarim Basin as also that of sericulture in the area and different routes of the Silk Road and then going to its history right up to the Stone age to make the reading easily comprehensible even for the novice and general readers. The third chapter narrates the story of the Chinese and Tibetan control of the Silk Road and the struggle between the two. The fourth relates to religious beliefs prevalent in the region from time to time and the influence of Buddhism, Hellenism Nestorian Christians and ultimately the spread of Islam in the area. Those familiar with the cultural finds of the region and writings of Stein feel that Baumer has somewhat underestimated the influence and spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, a trait which he follows when dealing with influence in the field of art and culture also. But this merely being his point of view does not affect the value of his narrative.

As for the iconography of some of the murals discussed by the author in the sixth chapter on Dandan Oilik requires a second look. In the illustration 70 on page 90 of the book depicting a divine triad (Dandan Oilik, D 13), the three headed figure on the left has been identified as that of Brahma seated on male goose. However, what has been identified as goose looks more like a peacock with its long neck and feathered tail. Moreover, the bird does not stand close to the knee of the deity as supposed by Baumer (p-88) but the latter is seated on it. Bow and arrows are not the attributes of Brahmā who is generally depicted as bearded. On the other hand bow and arrow are enumerated as attributes of Karttikeya in some texts like the *Matsyapurana* and the *Rupamandana*. Cock held in the left hand of the deity is an exclusive attribute of Karttikeya, who is six headed and has peacock for his mount. The figure should be identified as that of Karttikeya with the rest of the three heads presumed to be on backside. The central deity in the same panel can also be identified as that of Ṣaṣṭhi, the consort of Karttikeya, who is also a protector of children in Hindu mythology. Likewise the right side figure in the illustration 69 on page 89 cannot be that of Brahma who is not shown as ithyphallic in iconography. The two round objects in his upper hands identified as symbols of the sun and moon (cf. illustration 30, p. 58) suggest his identification with Maheśavara especially as he holds a trident in his lower hands which is an exclusive attribute of Śiva. In the illustration of a wooden frame (No. 93, p. 104) what has been described as a pomegranate is actually a vase with foliage (*Pūr ṇaghaṭa*), an auspicious symbol commonly used in Indian art. A pomegranate never has a broad base like the one in the figure nor the foliage emanating from its top makes any sense.

Not withstanding the few observations made above, the work is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject. It is excellently printed, beautifully illustrated with figures and maps and presented in a lucid style that deserves praise both by scholars and general readers.

Ashvini Agrawal.

Symbols and graphic representations in Indian inscriptions, H. Sarkar and B. M. Pande; Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1999; pages xvi+116+12 charts and XX plates, Rs. 750/-

The decipherment of Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhī scripts in the 19th centuary was a landmark that made the contents of the enormous mass of ancient Indian inscriptions accessible to Indologists. With the passage of time the study of epigraphy developed into a full discipline and a great many important inscriptions were deciphered and studied to reconstruct ancient Indian history. However, several enigmas that epigraphists came across during the course of their researches remained unsloved for long and others were not properly attended to. For instance the inscriptions with mixed letters of Brahmi and Kharoṣṭhi though known for a long time, were first studied by B.N. Mukherjee in a systematic manner. Likewise a decorative form of Brāhmī whose alphabet appear like conch-shell was given the nomenclature shell-script by the same scholar. In addition to the alphabet and their forms in the inscriptions there occur several marks and symbols. the meaning of some of them is well known where as little attention has been paid to the others. The present monograph is probably the first systematic attempt to study these symbols and graphic marks in inscriptions.

The work is divided into nine chapters of unequal length and deal with different types of symbols that one comes across in inscriptions - some frequently or rather regularly such as the ones for *oṁ* or *siddham*, the *svastika*, the wheel, the conch and circle and the others that are less frequent or even rare. Most of the work is devoted to the enumeration of symbols and their different forms in various inscriptions avoiding long discussions on their interpretation. But a number of bibliographical notes have been added at the end of each chapter with a select bibliography at the end for the benefit of inquisitive reader.

B.M. Pande has clearly expressed in the Preface, the limitations of the authors with a desire that a detailed study of the subject shall be taken up by other scholars yet one feels that some more references should have been included. For instance the chapter on two very important symbols Wheel and conch-shell is too brief. References to wheel symbol in inscriptions like the one from Tosham published long ago by J.F. Fleet and the occurrence of these symbols on the Gupta coins could have been gainfully utilized for discussion on their importance. Likewise a reference to *śaṅkhalipi* could have been added. It has been attempted to attach religious significance to the ornamental motifs discussed in chapter 5. However, many of them may be the result of the aesthetic sense of the engraver who merely wanted to decorate his work with different motifs like some of the decorated writings we come across in the present times. The highly ornamental signatures of the emperor Har ṣavardhana on his copperplate grants may be cited as an example of the same. In spite of these few observations the work under review is presented in a scholarly manner and nicely printed for which both the authors and the publisher deserve to be congratulated.

Ashvini Agrawal

Forms of the Goddess Lajjā Gauri in Indian Art, Carol Radcliffe Bolon, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi; 1997, pages : xiii+90 with one map and 130 figs; price : Rs. 350/-.

Perhaps the oldest depiction in Indian art is that of the mother goddess in her various forms that goes to a period as old as the religion itself is. From simple female images in terracotta it developed into exquisite images carved in stone and metal in a large variety of forms. One such form is that of Lajjā Gauri, a term conspicuous by its absence in the ancient texts on iconography. It is probably this reason that scholars have given different names to this form of the goddess and have interpreted them differently. The present work is one such attempt to study the image of Lajja Gaurī in its different forms and their connotations. The work is divided into four chapters preceded by a detailed introduction and followed by a brief conclusion. The four forms of Lajja Gauri into which all the known icons have been divided by the author viz. *Uttānapād* pot, Lotus-headed without arms, Lotus-headed with arms, and Anthropomorphic have been discussed in detail in the first chapter. The next two chapters deal with the multifigured plaques depicting Lajjā Gaurī and her related forms. Though only 124 images, 62 from the North and an equal number from the South have been surveyed for the purpose of this study they account for all the known forms that have come to light so far. The author's inference based on their statistics (25 terracotta and 99 stone images) that larger number of these images was made in stone is not very safe keeping in view the fact that terracotta pieces are not as durable as the stone and the former being generally a folk art is neither properly preserved by the people nor carefully accounted for by the scholars. However, her explanation of their forms, chronology and significance is convincing. The discussion on different names of this goddess, in the last chapter, is detailed and scholarly. As implied by the author, the name simply cannot be translated as "shameless goddess" as the word *lajja* in Sanskrit has never been used in the sence of shameless. It is always bashful. Prof D.C. Sircar's suggestion to change it into *Lajjāhina* has no basis what so ever. Moreover, it may be pointed out that the idea of describing a goddess as shameless could never be acceptable to Indian religious ethos. The author has rightly observed that as Gaurī she be taken as consort of Śiva which is pointed out by her role as goddess of creative power and which is the primary symbolic association of the lotus.

Bolon's conclusion in the end summarizes the discussion in the previous chapter and is the natural outcome as expected. The author has successfully highlighted the importance of this goddess of fertility who appears to have risen from a simple village deity to be incorporated in Hindu pantheon and continued to be worshiped in one form or the other with changes occuring with passage of time. Detailed bibilography, glossary, the key to figures at the end and Index further enhance the usefulness of the work. It is a scholarly work on the theme produced in an excellent manner that deserve attention of scholars and general readers alike.

Ashvini Agrawal

Painters at the Sikh Court, B.N. Goswamy, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, First expanded Indian edition, 1999, pp. XII +116, Plates colour 8; B/W 24, Rs. 950/-.

Official documents serve as important source of historical information. Their importance is enhanced even more where there is a dearth of sources to rebuild the past. They are just like a rich mine that yields wonderful results when exploited properly by expert hands. The present work is a beautiful example of the same— a result of the laborious fieldwork, chance discovery, expert handling and finally their presentation in a lucid style by a renowned authority on the subject. Originally published by the South Asia Institute of the University of Heidelberg, the monograph deals with twenty documents relating to grants of land to a family of *Pahari* paintes working for Sikh patrons from the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh up to the British occupation of Punjab including the Hilly tracts of Kangra in present day Himachal Pradesh. Besides transcribing and translating all the twenty documents Professor Goswamy has given critical annotated notes, wherever required, with each of the documents. The facsimiles of the documents published at the end of the book serve as a ready reckoner for cross checking. However, the essence of the work lies in a scholarly introduction comprising an indepth account of the find of the documents, the painters and their patrons, the contacts that were instrumental in their migration from the hills to the plains of Punjab to work under the Sikh chiefs of the period and the consequential impact on their economic condition due to these grants and the overall picture of the state of affairs, specially those concering these painters both as petty *Jagirdars* and common men and further their condition once the patronage ceased after the British conquest of the region in 1849, which probably was the major cause of the decline of the art of miniature painting in the state. None of them escapes the penetrating eye of the author. Actually it opens several vistas for further study on the subject. For example, Professor Goswamy's observation regarding the reluctance of these *Pahari* painters to migrate and settle permanently in the plains of Punjab has several socio-economic connotations and find echo in several popular folk songs of the period that have come down to us. In one such song a wife questions her husband as to why he built the beautiful new house if he were to go and take up a service in the plains and after a long dialogue the song ends with the husband's assurance that her fears are unfounded because his roots are in hills and ultimately he is to come back to his 'own' home. Some of the terms that one comes across in these documents also reveal long survival of traditions both official and social. The practice of *Begar* (Document No. 1) which was a legal practice, mentioned here perhaps has its roots in the *viṣṭi* with which students of ancient Indian history are so familier and which finds frequent mention both in Sanskrit literature and inscriptions (cf. *viṣṭi* in the Junagadh Rock inscription of Rudradāman I). Likewise the mention of *tambul* in the Doucment No. VI has an echo of the forced extraction of certain articles for the convenience of the local officials mentioned in the Chamba inscriptions under the name of *bhoga* along with other taxes like *bhaga* and *kara* (cf. *Inscriptions of Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Kashmir & Adjoining Hilly Tracts* by Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, New Delhi, 2000, p. 74).

The work is useful not only for the students and scholars of art history but for all the scholars of history of this period and region. The work has been meticulously printed and a welcome addition to the works available, as pointed by the author himself, as its German edition has been difficult for Indian readers to access.

Ashvini Agrawal

Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, Ram Chandra Kak with an introductory note by B.M. Pande, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2000 (Reprint), pp. xx+172 & Plates 77, Rs. 1450/-.

The breathtaking beauty of the valleys of Kashmir and its snow capped high mountainous peaks have made it a place of perennial interest practically to all categories of people for one reason or the other. Along with the natural wealth of the valley lie an age-old tradition, culture and history that happily mingle with the main stream of the Indian culture and history while keeping alive its own identity. Rich in history and archaeology, from the Stone Age to the present times, it has attracted many a scholar and archaeologist to present their views and findings about Kashmir in lucid accounts. The present book is a pioneering work in this category from the pen of a son of the soil who literally did a lot of spadework to put the archaeology of Kashmir on sound tracks. First published by The Indian Society, London in 1933 the book has retained interest amongst the readers to this day. The present edition being the second reprint of the work (the first appeared in 1971) is self explantory of the usefulness of the book.

Divided into six chapters, the first gives a brief but useful account of the geography and sources of the history of Kashmir by way of introduction. The second chapter on the political history is a mere narrative but as pointed out by Kak himself provides the required background to the general readers who are not familiar with the subject. The third—Architectural Styles—that discusses Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic styles found in Kashmir from circa A.D. 200 to 1300, provides an important background to the proper understanding of the next three chapters that deal with the 'Monuments below Srinagar'. The history, style and salient features of several well-known and little known monuments have been critically examined in the work that depicts the author's hold over the subject from his first hand knowledge that remains ever useful in providing an authentic account. In all the work, we feel, shall continue to provide an interesting reading to persons having an interest in the past of Kashmir.

Ashvini Agrawal

The Life of Form in Indian Sculpture, Carmel Berkson, Abhinav Publications,New Delhi, 2000, Pp. 524, Halftone illustrations 501, Rs. 900/-.

A Person who can present the known in a new form within the established parameters and combine it with the metaphysical can easily be termed a skilled artist. Carmel Berkson the author of the work under review can easily be placed in this category. A sculptor and photographer by profession, Berkson has photographed and studied a large number of Indian monuments from an artist's point of view. She has shed several old notions and feels that the focus on empirical description of Indian art, its chronology, narrative, iconography and iconometery have been there for too long in the studies of the subject with some recent works influenced by "chronologically and geographically distinct societal context". She, however, prefers to see art from beyond, from a new angle and with an artist's eye and has succeeded well.

The book that is profusely illustrated with more than five hundred photographs from the author's own collection, is divided into nine chapters besides an Introduction and a very brief bibliography as 'Suggested Reading'.The first chapter-The Artist Seeks Solutions of Aesthetic Significance, sets the author's ideas rolling with the view that in spite of following the canonical prescriptions and directions from the *sutradhara*, the chief architect, the *acarya* or the patron, the artist primarily responded to the inner archetypal imagery and fundamental structuring mechanisms "with energetic form of life as the primary and ultimate goal." The second, the life of Form – that has given the tittle to the book deals with the inner ideas behind every form that takes shape of a sculpture. Thereafter she talks of several technical details discussed with philosophy of art in chapters named as The Basic Geometrical Shapes; Initiation of Mobility, Relationships; The Rupture of the Surface *Panjara*; Fields of Force: Abstract/Organic Equations: and The Temple Wall. In each chapter she picks up a specific point and tries to describe it in a few words but with numerous illustrations, invariably in a convincing manner of person who has strong perception of the metaphysical. That makes the work worth a critical analysis and appreciation at the same time.

When dealing with a subject like the Indian sculpture one cannot afford to ignore the fact that it is deeply embedded in a tradition based on strong beliefs codified in canonical texts. As such the artist had a limited freedom of expression and rarely went beyond the established norms. Even the students and scholars of the subject cannot afford to be oblivious of these norms whether we call them empirical or give some other name. They are vital basics and any violation to them may bring the entire structure tumbling down. The geographical context, as it helps study the development, existence or spread of a particular idiom of art. But the book contains several errors on this count. To point just a few, Hoshiarpur is a district head-quarters in Punjab and not in Himachal Pradesh (P.1).

The author does not appear to be familiar with Sanghol and its antiquities. This archaeologically significant place lies in the Fatehgarh district of Punjab and not in Madhya Pradesh as supposed by Berkson (figs. 112, 125, 222 and 324) nor she seems to have seen the originals from the site because what she calls a door-jamb (p. 218) is actually a railing pillar, one of the several discovered from the site. We would prefer the nomenclature *śalabhañ* *jika*, which is more appropriate in place of *vṛikshika* used by the author. The latter is normally used for tree goddesses.

There are a few points regarding the identification of certain images. Fig. 326 from Baijnath (Kangra) has been identified as that of Viṣṇu. The left half of the image is female that carries a book, pot, lotus and mirror in her hands and the right part is that of Viṣṇu carrying lotus, mace, conch and disc seated on an eight armed Garuḍa. In fig. 196, the Cola bronze from Tanjore, what is labelled as "Pārvatī and attendant" is actually a Kalyāṇasundara scene that shows Śiva and Pārvatī flanked by Viṣṇu and Lakṣmi and not a mere attendant. Figure 13 is no doubt that of Surya but he holds mace and conch in his two backhands and as such should be identified as Sūryanarāyaṇa. Similarly Cāmuṇḍa is more appropriate nomenclature than Kālī for figure 12 from Nirmand (Himachal Pradesh). The author thinks that Śiva had the horns of bull in the Indus seal and "when she is Kāli, the Goddess, in rare instances, even today, bears the horns of the bull on her head." This, however, is wrong presumption as in both the cases deities are shown wearing a head-dress with horns but do not have horns on their own heads. (Cf. Fig. 152). They can neither be compared with Gaṇeśa nor with the theriomorphic incarnations of Viṣṇu. These and some other such points have not attracted the minute attention of the author may be because this is not the main aspect of her delineation. None the less they may issue wrong signals to the readers. The suggested reading too deserved more attention.

However, from creative artist's point of view the book is not only well documented but the presentation also deserves to be highly praised. It is well printed and reasonably priced for this type of work.

Ashvini Agrawal

Elephanta the Cave of Śiva, Carmel Berkson et. el., Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, First Edition 1999, pp.xviii+50,plates74, Rs. 600/-

"Everyone should visit Elephanta at least once in each lifetime". This opening remark by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty in the Introduction to the book under review is very meaningful and has several connotations. At the same time it is very pragmatic as the island of Elephanta or more correctly Gharapuri, as originally known to the natives, off the coast of Mumbai (Bombay), is not merely a tourist destination containing one of the several ancient monuments of India but is a sacred spot of heritage enshrining some of the most exquisitely carved panels in the rock-cut Śaiva temple assignable to c. 6th century AD. The gigantic central sculpture of Sadāśiva, populary known as *Trimurti*, in the cave of Elephanta leaves the onlooker wonderstruck. Probably that is why a great mass of literature has come into existence on this single subject since the 16th century in the form of travelers' records, studies by art historians, architects, sculptors, photographers and scholars interested in Indology in general. The present work is also the result of well-known sculptor and photographer, Carmel Berkson's interest in the monuments at Elephanta.

Primarily based on the photographs of different panels at Elephanta meticulously taken by Berkson, the book contains three chapters with an Introduction by Wendy D.O'Flaherty who has also authored the third chapter – The Myth Depicted at Elephanta. O'Flaherty has briefly described the myths and legends attached to various gods, generally the Śaiva pantheon, depicted in the panels at Elephanta that makes the study of the panels easily comprehensible to the readers who are uninitiated in Indian mythology. His simple style of description avoiding the complexity of the *Purāṇic* stories shall definitely make the work likable to general readers. The second chapter, The Architecture of Elephanta: An Interpretation, by George Michell is both scholarly and interesting at the same time. Profusely illustrated with as many as nine diagrams, it not only gives a clear picture of the architecture of the Cave and location of various sculptured panels but also has an in depth study of the concept location, relationship of circles and squares, axis, *maṇḍala* and several other architectural features. If we give due credit to the fact that Berkson is primarily a creative artist – a sculptor and photographer – then her write up in the first chapter, The Historical Context and Evolution of Style at Elephanta, should not be expected to be a critical analysis of several controversial aspects of the history of the monument. There are some observations like the conversion of the present Śaiva cave from an original Buddhist monastery that may not find favour with several scholars. But that neither affects the essential character of the whole work nor reduces its value.

The detailed bibliography at the end is specially valuable as it provides ready reference to all the works on subject till date that are worthy of note with a very brief gist of their contents and value. Likewise the Notes on Terminology in the beginning of the book serve as ready recknor to those who are not familiar with various Sanskrit terms used in the work. The authors as well as the publishers of the work deserve to be congratulated on providing this easily accessible guide to Elephanta.

Ashvini Agrawal

The Satavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas : A Historical Framework, Ajay Mitra Shastri, Dattsons, Nagpur, 1998, Pp. XIV, 203, XXXIII black and white plates, hardbound, price Rs. 495.

This book endeavours to map the two prominent dynasties, the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatraps that shared the vast stretches of Deccan and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Though the work of V.V. Mirashi, V.S. Bakhle, K. Gopalachari et el. has provided a comprehensive sketch of the Western Kshatrapas, our understanding of the Sātavāhanas remains patchy at best. To most of the students of Indian History, the understanding of the Satavāhanas centres around Gautmīputra Śatakaraṇi and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumavi, the two prominent monarches of the dynasty. There are, however, larger disputed questions regarding the nature, origin, chronology, succession, nomenclature, etc. which requires scrutiny. Using the latest epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as is evident from the number of inscriptions and coins reproduced at the end of the book, Shastri sets out to break new ground by providing definitive answers to such vexatious questions as well as attempting a connected political history of the Sātavāhanas. The usage of numismatic evidence and the implication of silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, questioning the attribution of Śaka era as well as reconsidering the dating of The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, provide fresh insights into the understanding of the Western Kshatrapas.

The book is divided into two parts, which are independent of each other. Part one deals with the Satavāhanas and consists of eight chapters and three appendices. The chapters deliberate upon the sources, the problem of origin, nomenclature, chronology and the social milieu in which the dynasty flourished. The religion and the problem of succession are also dealt with independently. The appendices shed refreshing light on hitherto little understood Sātavāhana statue galley at Naneghat, near Pune; a note on Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śivashi Pulumavi and the order of succession and chronology among the Sātavāhanas. Part two of the book deals with the Western Kshatrapas. Consisting of five chapters and two appendices, it deals with the chronology of the two dynasties comprising the Western Kshatrapas, namely the Kshaharatas and the Kardamakas. These two dynasties have been independently dealt with and their sovereignty emphasised, questioning our understanding that both were the feudatories of the Kushaṇas. In this context the appendices dealing with the genealogy and the order of succession among the Kshaharatas and Kardamakas obtain meaningful significance.

Using the epigraphic mapping, philology, the literary evidence of *Aitareya Brahmaṇa, Vayu and Matsya Puraṇa* etc. and the recent finding of base metal coins attributed to Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana family, Shastri argues that the Sātavāhanas were native to Andhra-*deśa*. Even during the founder's time they controlled Koṭaliṅgala and Sangareddy area in Telingana and bear no connection to the Satiyaputras of Aśokan edicts, who were their feudatories and successors. This formulation revises the hypotheses of Altekar, Mirashi, Raychaudhuri et el. that the Sātvāhanas began their rule in Maharashtra and only after Gautmīputra Śātakarṇi spread to Andhra-*deśa*. It also negates Gopalachari's theory that they were the Andhra-*bhṛitya* of the Mauryas.

Shastri also revises the chronology of the Satavāhanas, which has been dated by Rapson, Smith and Rao between the third century B.C. and third century A.D. The confusion is also confounded due to the conflicting Purāṇic records - 30 kings within a span of 448½ years in *Matsya Purāṇa* and 272½ years for 19 kings in *Vāyu Purāṇa*. Basing himself on the Naneghat 'larger sacrifical inscription' of queen Naganikā, a widow of Śātakarṇi – who is the third regnal king and Simuka - and arguing on palaeographic grounds, following Bühler, to coincide the Purāṇic tradition of an Andhra King Simuka overthrowing a Kanvaya King Suśarmana to fashion a new dynasty, Shastri places the Satavāhanas in the middle of the first century B.C. This is averred through numismatic evidence as well as from the stratigraphy of Period IV of excavations at Nevasa in Ahmednagar district in Maharashtra along with the evidence from the excavations at Veerapuram, Kurnool districts.

The nomenclature of the dynasty too is disputed. Foremost, Shastri dispels the myth that the Satavahana and Śatakarṇi are synonyms. He argues that the dynasty continued to be named Sātavāhana to its end, and Gautmiputra Śatakarṇi is eulogised in inscriptions as establisher of the fame of the Sātavāhana *kula*. This is also clear fromt the analysis of the structure of coin legends where the honorific Siri (Śrī) is found prefixed to the personal name of the issuer, and not against that of *kula*. It must be mentioned that there is a dispute also regarding the meaning of the usage — the Sātavahana. Przyluksi derives it from horse — as sons of horse; or Sūrya, also legitimising their claim to solar race as argued by Kosambi et el; as well as the one with a strong association with 'oars', hence navy; or as 'sword bearer' as K.P. Jayaswal suggests. Shastri however cautions that instead of trying to find Sanskrit roots, the variants Sāta or Sāda-vāhana should be read as they are recorded in inscriptions and speculates that it means horsemen or horse-rider, thereby suggesting a poessession of 'strong cavalry'. This he thinks was vital for Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, to conquer and establish a lasting rule in Telangana. He further argues that the Sātavāhanas 'were brahmanas though with admixture of Naga blood'. They were adharents of 'Vedic-Paurāṇic' religion and performed many *Śrauta* sacrifices implying a huge financial outlay and costly gifts as described in minute details in the larger Naneghat inscription of Śātakarṇi and his queen Nāganikā. Yet they patronised Buddhism, and their inscriptions record numerous gifts to various Buddhist establishments. This was vital as Shastri suggests, for the popularity and porsperity of Buddhism in the Deccan during the early centuries A.D.

Shastri has marshalled his evidence skilfully and with fresh insight, particularly of *pratimā-gṛha* at Naneghat, which is comparable to that of *Deva-kula* of the Aikaśvākus described by Bhāsa in *Pratimā-nāṭaka*. He completes the historical sketch by providing a firm chronology for the Sātavahanas and the extent of their empire. Perhaps the most significant of all is the use of numismatic findings from Kotalingala and Sangareddy in Karimnagar and Kondapur in Medak district of Andhra Pradesh and Nevasa in Ahmednagar, Junnar in Pune and Akola in Vidarbha region as well as Sannati in Gulbarga. The observation that all the coins discovered in dispersed regions are of baser-metals like copper, lead and potin, which are not likely to travel distance is significant in understanding the dynamics of empire formation and its extent. This ascertains that the founder carved a large kingdom consisting of major parts of Telangana and adjoining region of Andhra Pradesh, Northern Karnataka, Vidarbha region and major portions of Maharashtra. Another significant attribution is circa 52 B.C. as the date of accession of Simuka, followed by

Krṣṇa (Kānha) c. 29-11 B.C. and Śātakarṇi, after whom the dynasty got renowned, 10-45 A.D. Of the early Sātavāhanas the dynasty ends with Pulumāvi in c. 230 A.D., though there are larger number of inscriptions and coins of the later Sātavāhanas, of the same dynasty, particularly of Chatarapana (?) Śātakarṇi and Kauśikīputra Śātakarṇi. The later Sātavāhanas have been little understood and ignored by most of the historians.

The part two of the book under review deals with the Western Kshatrapas — who are of northern origin attested also by the Kharoṣṭi script on their coinage. Taxila plate of year 78 of unspecified era (later attributed to Śaka era that is disputed by Shastri) refers to Kshāharāta Kshatrapas and Kārdamakas, who make the eponym Western Kshatrapas. The inscriptions and coins of these two families reveal no subordinate connection with the Kuṣāṇas and that the Śaka era too commenced with the accession of Casṭana — the Kārdamaka ruler of Śaka extraction. Among the Kshāharāta Kshatrapas, Nahapāna was the most famous, who predceased Chasṭanā — thus revising the earlier understanding — and was an adversary of Śātakarṇi. The Sātavāhanas and Kshāharāta Kshatrapas fought to control the overseas Roman trade as well as the north Maharashtra territory and the ports of north Konkan. However, the Nasik *praśasti* points that Śātakarṇi eventually vanquished Nahapāna and the Kshāharātas . These Kshāharātas, who were of Persian origin, were Indianised in the second generation and performed not only Paurāṇic rites including pilgrimage but also patronised the Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist establishments particularly at Nasik and Karle. The most lasting of their contribution was striking the silver portrait coinage, which was followed by all their successors including the Guptas.

The Kārdamakas supplanted the Kshāharātas around 78A.D. and Casṭana acquired the Sātavāhana territories in the north – particularly Saurashtra, Kukura, Anupa, Ahara and Avanti. This is also reflected in their silver coinage, particularly the 'crescented hill' type coins. Coinage is central to determine the chronology and the process of Indianisation as the later Kārdamaka rulers gave up the practice of Kharoṣṭī legend in the reverse, using Brāhmī instead. The practice of giving the date however started with Rūdrasimha-I, which was finalised and formalised and is of inestimable value for the reconstruction of dynastic history with precision. Rudradāman-I was the most famous of all these rulers, particularly due to Junagarh inscription. Yet Rūdrasena-I (accession 200 A.D.) established matrimonial relations with the Ikṣvākus of Andhra and patronised Buddhism as is also evident from the legend of the clay sealing of Imtwa. The dynasty was reduced during the reign of Samudragupta and later Kardamaka rulers like Rūdrasiṁha-III issued silver coins bearing Gupta era instead of Śaka era.

By presenting fresh evidence, particularly of coins to rethink the major debated issues centred particularly on the Sātavahanas, the book is welcome and vital for the students of early Indian History, particularly the epigraphists and numismatists. The book provides new dimensions to the debated issues of origin, chronology, succession, nomenclature, etc. while reaching at some vital new conclusions on earlier settled issues. The most noteworthy being that the *pratimā-gṛha* of Naneghat was instituted by the second ruler of Sātavahana and was a commemorative gallery; that there is only one Śātakaṃi among the early Sātavāhanas; that their rule begins in the middle of the first century B.C. The most revolting of his conclusions is that the Śaka era was instituted from the date of accession of Caṣṭana, theKārdamaka ruler, who succeeded Nahapāna; that the practice of dating was started by Rudrasiṁha-I and not Jīvadāman-I; and that these two Kshatrapa dynasties were not the vassals of Kaniṣka and his successors. I am sure that both the evidence presented and the conclusions arrived at will be closely scrutinised by the historians working on these problems. That in itself ensures the utility and significance of this book.

Mahesh Sharma

Indian Rock Aṛt and its Global Context, Kalyan Kumar Chakravarty and Robert G. Bednarik, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi .& Indira Gandhi Rashtriya Manav Sangrahalaya, Bhopal, 1997; Price 1700/-

K.K. Chakravarty and R.G. Bednarik organized an exhibition on rock art in India and the world in 1994 at the National Museum New Delhi, while the Rock art session of the World Archaeological Congress was also taking place. This book is result of their painstaking efforts. This Catalogue of Indian and World rock art keeps well clear of subjective identification presenting only factual information. Such scholarly work has largely been a result of an extensive cum scientific approach adopted by the authors. They show extreme caution at any interpretation and are very critical of earlier conclusions.

Rock Art according to the authors is humanity's collective memory. It evolved concurrent with various other developments pertaining to culture, language, symbolism, concepts of self and concepts of external reality. At the time of evolution of our species this art form developed at various places independently through out the world.

Rock art has figures or motives that were created by a process of removing some substance from the rock surface, resulting in colour differnece or a relief. At times something has been added to the rock surface, either paint or a pigment or even bees' wax, to produce the wonderful works of art.

Regarding the antiquity of rock art, scientific developments have taken place towards understanding it and new methods of directly dating this art have started ten years ago. However, 'secure' dating is available for few figures only in some countries. The authors point out that the oldest art form extant seems to be almost 300,000 years old. They have analyzed the pitfalls inherent in such efforts. A brief study has also been made of the materials, techniques and chronological tools which is very useful.

The authors believe that of particular importance, while appreciating the significance of the most ancient art, is its role in understanding the human being. The beginning of art according to the authors has been a crucial factor in the humanization of our species : conscious perception of reality, exploitation of iconicity, to create the possibility of symbolism, the beginning of language and the discovery of the human self. Palaeo art is the only remaining evidence of the humanization of our species and rock art accounts for nearly all surviving palaeo art.

The catalogue of Indian and World Rock Art is composed keeping in mind the geographical divisions. The Indian Rock Art is the main feature of the present book as is made clear by the title of the book. Various chapters present brief descriptions, continent by continent, each time offering an outline of the rock art tradition. In the synoptic view of the rock art of India emphasis has been laid on its antiquity vis a vis the European Rock Art. The painted rock shelters have been found in the Indian states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, Gujarat, Assam, Bengal, Manipur, Maharashtra and other Areas of Peninsular India. A brief but critical survey is made, highlighting the large number of sites in India.

The rock art of Asia, Euorpe, Africa, North and South

America, Australia and New Zealand has been written about in this book but the inforamation provided is brief. However, comparisons have been made of Indian rock art tradition with those of rest of the world, which are most interesting and informative. The Book tries to place the rich body of Indian Rock Art into its global setting. It is representative of all these arts.

Throughout the study the authors have shown the cautious approach necessry in the study of rock art throughout the world. According to the authors "The bulk of the text in this volume was written over five consecutive days. The text was written entirely from memory, without the benefit of any literature references. No references are therefore provided here." It is synoptic but comprehensive survey and is profusely illustrated by 221 photographs (colored as well as black and white) and drawings. With the fast progress in scientific techniques it is difficult to imagine that the book will be the last work in the study of rock art. The Authors should not be afraid of being refuted in times to come, as their views have contributed greatly in understanding the ancient traditions of rock art and increasing our knowledge.

Prehistoric rock arts are foremost of all records of the mode of perception and cognition of the people who produced them. The philosophical angle added to the study of rock art makes the book very interesting. The authors have also deliberately abstained from interpreting the rock art but have also made the reader painfully aware of the limitations of science. However, the significance of early rock art provides the only major evidence documenting past human models of reality and its role for those artists, the creators of new realities, who capture the human concept of reality by intuition rather than by reason. It makes a good reading for a serious student of rock art as well as for a casual reader.

Vipnesh Bhardwaj

Śrimad Bhagvad Gitā Chapter One, Shivaram Devarao Ubhayakar, Bangalore, 1990, Pp. 56, Price : Not mentioned

This small compact compilation is a novel attempt in presenting *Śrimad Bhagvad Gitā Chapter One* (The Spoken and Unspoken Thoughts of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna). As one glances through the pages one imagines a *Ṛṣi* of ancient India going through the manuscript of a sacred scripture holding it in his lap. The most attractive feature of this delightful composition is its introductory part given at the very outset. This has been aptly titled "MAN'S SEARCH FOR HAPPINESS". It traces man's journey from the prehistoric days when he started his life in the caves and forests. The author has described stepwise man's power of observation of nature taking him into different realms of mental and intellectual levels.

The take off stage For "WHO AM I?" in man's spiritual evolution came after passing through the *Deva-Vāda* of *Vedas*. The author tells us "The *Deva Vada* of the *Vedas* was the state of exuberant youth that Indian thought went through, the passionate journey of man in the early stages of his search for happiness and his efforts to find it. And from what they thought that they had understood of nature, came the beautiful lyrics, the Vedic hymns that sang the praise and told of the glories and might of the Devas, and the *Karma-Kāṇḍa*, which told of the means to gain their blessings and favour and their boons, through the performance of various prayers and rituals." However man's quest for Eternal Bliss took him deeper into the secrets first of nature and then of man's being, his head and his heart as if only these that experienced the joys and sorrows of life. Man came to understand the transcedental nature of the eternal source and of the universe, the fundamental oneness of the gross and subtle, of matter and force and fundamental oneness of Being and Non-being. He came to realise that consciousness is the vital force and the source of life. The consciousness, the *Ātman* in its role as the life force, the *Jivatman*. The author then goes on to tell us about "IS LIFE ETERNAL?" and "IS DEATH TRUELY SORROWFUL?" These details are followed by useful notes which link the concepts of philosophy and science.

In the section "THE GITA THE RAINBOW" the author takes us to six main schools of thought, *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pūrvamīmāṅsā and Uttaramīmaṅsā*. Each differs from the other on many points, yet all of them claimed the authority of the Vedas as the basis of their teachings. He summarises the teaching of the Gitā as "The *Bhagvad-Gita* tells us of the three paths to the realisation of the nature of one's self *Niṣkāma kama* or selfless action, *Jñana* — the knowledge of one's true nature and meditation there upon and *Bhakti* — sincere and self less love for our fellow beings. And that the sincere practice of any one of these paths will lead us to our goal ... Eternal Happiness." The section "ANANDA" is a small story of a king who ruled according to Vedantic thought. The author has this to tell us about the philosopher king "not enamoured by wealth and power and not wishing to live in the place, he returned to the *Āśrama* and ruled over his kingdom from there; he lived a long happy life. *Ānanda* did not renounce the world nor desert his assigned duties. At his father's behest he became king making the welfare and the happiness of his people his main concern, living a simple life and carrying out his duties selflessly, conscientiously and impartially, doing his duties of a king and yet living like a man amongst men, not carried away by power and wealth, uneffected by censure or praise, love or hate and pain or pleasure."

The last section, "THE *MAHĀBHĀRATA* AND THE *BHAGVAD GITĀ*" gives us the importance of *Gita* as viewed from the wider background of the *Mahābhārata*, of which the *Gītā* forms the central or core part. According to the author the *Mahābhārata* is literally a treasurey of human thought and life and stands out singularly as a monumental work that encompasses all aspects of life.

The next section of this book gives a thoughtful treatment of Chapter One of *Śrimad Bhagvad-Gītā*. The opening scene is the battlefield. There are two branches of the same race fighting for the empire of India about five thousand years ago. The Pāṇḍavas had the right but the Kauravas had the might. When Arjuna sees his friends and relatives on the other side and knows that he may have to kill them, his heart gives way and he says that he will not fight. There is a conflict in Arjuna's heart between his emotions and his duty. Then Śrī Kṛṣṇa utters the supreme truth in the finest Hindu tradition, which dissipates the doubts clouding the mind of Arjuna.

The author has made a laudable attempt in interpreting chapter one of *Śrimad Bhagvad-Gita* in English Verse. All the fortyseven *ślokas* have been printed in Sanskrit alongwith their version in Roman script. This is followed by their meaning in English language on the same left hand part of the page. On the broader right hand side of the same page is the translation in English verse. This rendering in English verse goes beyond its literal meaning and beautifully gives the interpretation of the *śloka* in its depth. The versification is of such a great quality that one can even sing in devotion. The author deservs to be congratulated on starting this sojourn on the path of enlightenment.

Vasundhra Rehani

Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India, Richard H. Davis, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 2000. pp xvi+200, Price Rs. 295/-

In Śaiva Siddhanta philosophy, it is established conviction that every animate being, beginning with Śiva, has a soul whose principal characteristic is consciousness (*cit*). Consciousness, in turn, manifests itself through two powers viz the power to know (*jñānaśakti*) and the power to act or ritual (*kriyā śakti*). These two powers are the essence of Śiva's single power. This single power seems to take on different forms because of an apparent distinction between the sphere of knowing and practical activity. This metaphysical unity of knowledge and action in Śaiva Siddhānta provides the theme to Richard H.Davis to undertake the study of the philosophically constructed world *Śaiva jñāna* and explication of *Śaiva Kriyā*. The outcome of this study takes the form of book entitled 'Worshipping Śiva in Medieval India'. The primary sources of this study are the complex formulation of daily worship articulatd by the Śaiva Siddhānta school and recorded generally in the corpus of *Śaiva Āgama* and *Paddhati* texts and particularly *Kāmikāgama*, which provides a full discussion on public temple worship, and *Kriyākramadyotikā* which gives the most influential Śaiva Siddhānta accounts of private worship.

In the introduction 'Locating the tradition', the author having in mind the concept of Hindu temple presents a brief resume of king Rājarāja's colossal Śiva Liṅga Temple built at Thanjavur in 1003 C.E., the brief history of Śaiva Āgama and Śaiva Siddhānta and propounded the Śaiva Siddhānta as a system.

Chapter first 'Ritual and Human Powers' begins with the discussion on Śaiva ritual which is grounded in and grows out of the world that is known metaphysically through Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, the fundamental constituents of world viz *pati* (the Lord), *paśu* (bound soul) and *pāśa* (fetters), the situation of human being within it, the most important goals of human endeavour, and how purposeful action such as rituals may enable human being to gain these goals and lastly delineats a Śaiva theory of rituals that constitute the world within which Śaivas conceptulize and practice ritual.

The basic cosmological tenet for many schools of Hindu thought is that our universe oscillats between moments of creation and destruction, evolution and invalution, activity and quietude, expansion and contraction, etc. For Śaivas, this pulsation does not confine itself to cosmogonic motion, rather, it is a ubiquitous principle of a dynamic universe, governing all creation. The vivid picture of this concept is contained in the second chapter 'Oscillation in the Ritual Universe' wherein the author clarifies how Śaiva daily worship echoes the rhythm of the oscillating universe, the paired concepts of emission (*sṛṣṭi*) and reabsorption (*saṁhāra*), with which Śaivite cosmology describes the movements of oscillating univese. The nature of emission and reabsorption, significance of metamorphosis of the hands in daily worship, the role of purification in the transformation of body, construction of ritual space, ritual movement in space and position of ritual world and the real world are explicitly described in this chapter.

In Śaiva philosophy, the fundamental goal of a Śaivite is to attain *mokṣa* i.e. final liberation. The Śaiva philosophy maintains that a liberated soul becomes equal to Śiva. It does not merge into divinty, rather, it remains as an autonomous theomorphic entity, separate from Śiva but with all his qualities and powers. It is discussed in the third chapter, 'Becoming a Śiva' throwing ample light on the theories of bondage and liberation, fetters and their ripening, the role of initiation in getting liberation and the help it provides in removing fetters and assistance it gives to the soul's inherent powers to emerge.

Śiva being eternal, pervasive, calm, liberated, autonomous and having infinite powers of knowledge and action cannot be worshipped by human beings who are limited in time, confined in space, constrained by fetters, agitated by psychic disturbance and subordinate to other things. Moreover, Śiva cannot be said to have a particular form and it is not possible for human to mediate or offer worship to a completely formless being. Therefore, for Śaiva worship it is absolutely necessary that Śiva enters into the ritual domain to receive the offerings of worshipper. How does one summon the limitless divinity to a limited sphere is discussed in the fourth chapter 'Summoning the Lord' by clarifying the two levels of Śiva, his multiple forms, composition of divine throne, superimposition of the body of *mantra* on the *Linga*, a divine body, an ascent by the worshipper to approach Śiva, and descent of Śiva into a *Linga*.

For Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy, the three main participants in the presentation of daily worship are the three fundamental categories of the universe. The worshipper who makes the gift is an embodied soul (*paśu*), the substances offered to Śiva are objects of the material cosmos (*pāśa*) and the recipient is the Lord Śiva (*pati*), taking up temporary residence in *Linga*. This transaction among the worshipper, the offerings and Śiva during daily worship brings the three ontological categories into their proper and fundamental relationship with one another. This is rightly presented in the last chapter 'Relation of worship'. During the discussion the author shows how the three categories are inter related, what is relation between Śiva and material world, and between Śiva and bound souls, how the substances to be offered in the worship are purified, importance of considering Śiva in the form of *Linga* as guest, how to please him and beseech his favour and *visarjana* (dismiss) of Śiva from his embodiment in the *Linga*.

The author deserves our appreciation to explicate both the world envisioned in Śaiva Siddhānta and the way in which daily worship reflects and acts within that world. The author diligently proved through arguments and examples that in the system of Śaiva philosophy daily worship is not a mere set of ritualized gestures but it symbolizes the daily catechism wherein the worshipper puts into action all the major themes of cosmic cycle of emission and reabsorption. He is also successful to justify how philosophy clarifies the purpose of ritual and how ritual actually objectifies the philosophy. The study also fills the major desideratum in the field of religious and cultural history of medieval India recorded in the Śaiva literature compiled from eighth to twelfth centuries.

Figures representing the different theories of Śaiva Siddhānta, demonstration of different rituals through photographs, glossary of technical terms employed in Śaiva philosophy, selected bibligraphy and word index at the end of the book enhance the academic value of it.

Raghbir Singh

The Politics of History: Aryan Invasion Theory and The Subversion of Scholarship, N. S. Rajaram, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 244, Rs. 150/-.

Objectivity is the soul of history, but very often it is sacrificed for the sake of vested interests. Facts are interpreted to serve the purpose of some preset goal in mind. Sometimes, even facts are fabricated and implanted. The problem of the original home of the Aryans suffers on this account. Significant facts have been ignored by some scholars in an effort to establish the Aryan invasion theory. The recant excavations that are exhaustive more scientific and more analytical make no influence on the supporters of the Aryan invasion theory. They are still haunted by the ghost of Max Müllar whose theory was not without bias and was influenced by the 19th century colonial interests. As the title of the book under review suggests the author has tried to search for such biases and interests and reasons for the same.

The book has five chapters. The author has vehemently rejected the Aryan invasion theory and highlighted the recent excavations in the first chapter. On the basis of the recent excavations he has tried to establish the coherence between the Harappan civilization and Vedic civilization. His belief that Harappan people practiced *sulbasutras* in making altars and hence the *Sūtra* period is the same as the mature Harappen period is cognizable. The recent excavations prove this point. The discovery of the existnce of the Vedic river Sarasvatī by Wakankar and cofirmed by the Satellite pictures point to India as the original home of the Aryans. B.B. Lal in his book *And Sarasvatī Flows On* talks of the continuity of Indian civilization. However, the author's indentification of the metallic head, said to have been found near Delhi, with that of the *Ṛgvedic* sage Vasiṣṭha and fixing of the year of the Battle of Ten Kings as 3700 B.C. needs further probe.

The second chapter delineates the background of the 19th century writings. The Pundits, who knew Sanskrit did the real work, but the whole credit has been taken by the bureaucrats and missionaries, who employed them. In turn these Europeans wrote to enhance the commercial and imperial interests of the ruling power, Max Müllar was paid by the British government to give a negative interpretation of the Vedas is an example cited by the author. John Marshall and others followed him. As a result Aryan invasion theory got wide circulation and support. The same tactics have been used by the European powers when they established their colonics in the American and African continents. Red Indian civilization has been thoroughly and completely wiped off from the American Continent.

Chapters three and four deal with the career and contribution of Max Müllar and philology as the basis of history. Despite of being admonitive with regard to Max Müllar, Rajaram gives due credit to Max Müllar for the pioneer work done by him. However, he finds Monier-Williams far more superior in scholarship to Max Müller. The former was well conversant with the Sanskrit language. The flow of linguistic approach to history has been rightly pointed out. The Marxist interpretation also does not hold ground in the light of the latest researches.

In the end the author criticises the Marxists for their inadequate knowledge of Sanskrit, ignorance of tradition and reluctance to accept the results of the latest excavations. He has emphasised the need for applying scientific method to solve the current issue and has exploded the myth of Aryan invasion. However, going through the line of argument adopted by the author one feels that at plaes he too stretches out of limits of his own parameters.

The language of the book is flawless and plan is methodical. Various citations give credence to his thesis. But at time we find him hypercritic of the other schools of thought. Consequently, even their valid objections remain unanswered. But the work is a welcome addition to the recent literature on the subject especially as an attempt to expose the deliberate wrong done to India's past and the author deserves to be appreciated on that count.

N.K. Ojha

OBITUARY:
Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri
(1934-2002)

When the phone rang on that fateful evening of the 11th of January 2002, I picked it up thinking that it must be Professor Shastri on the line with whom I had fixed up just two days back to discuss and finalize the programme for the forthcoming national seminar on the Vedic-Harappan Relationship that I was organizing in my University. It was not he. My cousin from Nagpur was speaking. He asked me in rather somber tone if I had heard about Prof. Shastri. Not realizing what he meant I tried to correct him saying, "you mean from Prof. Shastri". "No", he said, "Prof. Shashtri is no more. He suffered a massive heart attack this morning and has passed away" and with this there was a long silence. It looked like eternity for the message to sink in my mind and left me numbed from Shock. It was so unexpected, so sudden.

To me it was a personal loss as in him I had lost a true friend, philosopher and guide but in a wider context the sudden demise of Prof. Shastri left the world of Indological studies, poorer by this irreparable loss. My personal acquaintance with Prof. Shastri started way back in 1976 when I was working for my Ph.D. on the Imperial Guptas and required one of his papers on Candragupta II Vikramāditya and King Pramati of the *Purāṇas*. Quite unsure of the response I hesitantly wrote to him about my requirement and received a prompt reply along with the paper and several valuable suggestions. Next year we met at the conference of the Numismatic Society of India and since then our correspondence and meetings became a regular feature. When our academic acquaintance turned into a personal friendship I do not remember but he was always full of warmth and affection for me till the very last.

He was an erudite scholar, a deep researcher, an excellent teacher and an embodiment of simple living and high thinking. Born on the 5th of March, 1934 in the family of a school teacher he had mastered the life of simplicity and rigid self-discipline at home and then at the Gurukuls where he received his early education. Always a brilliant student he mastered not only Sanskrit but almost all other branches of Indology including epigraphy, numismatics, archaeology, art etc. After completing his M.A. in Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology from Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi in 1957 under the teachers like Profs. Raj Bali Pandey, V.S. Agrawala, A.S. Altekar and V.S. Pathak he joined the Nagpur University in the same year as lecturer, where a special interview was arranged for him at the suggestion of Prof. R.C. Majumdar. There he started his monumental work on the

Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira under the supervision of Prof. V.V. Mirashi that earned him Ph. D. degree from that very University in 1962 to be followed by a D. Litt. on his work Kuṭṭanimata of Dāmodaragupta in 1987. Prof. Shastri never cared for degrees and honours. They came his way on their own due to his hard work and critical acumen. Besides being Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Nagpur University for a long time he was National lecturer in Epigraphy and member and office bearer of several academic bodies. He chaired scores of conferences and seminars including the sessions of Indian History Congress, Numismatic Society of India, Epigraphical Society of India, Placename society of India, All India Oriental Conference and he was conferred several awards and medals for his distinguished research work.

Prof. Shastri authored more than twenty books and monographs and the list of his research papers published in the national and international journals runs into a couple of hundreds. Just to name a few of his books, besides the two mentioned above, he wrote *An outline of early Buddhism* (1965), Tripuri (1971), *Pauni Excavations* (1972), *Excavations at Bhokardan* (1974), *Kausambi hoard of Magha coins* (1979), *Ajanta* (1980), *Early history of the Deccan* (1987), *Inscriptions of Śarabhapuriyas, Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs & Somavaṁśīs* (1995), *Varahamihira's India* (1996), *Vākāṭakas-Sources and History* (1997), *The Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas* (1998). He contributed chapters to prestigious *Cambridge History of India*, Vol.II and the *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. IV besides others. It is not the quantity but the quality of his works that earned him appreciation of his seniors and reverence of the younger. His writings have always been marked with depth, critical acumen and insight that he had developed from his deep knowledge of Sanskrit, epigraphy and numismatics.

When the V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur decided to start the present *Research Bulletin*, Prof. Shastri was the first to be unanimously appointed on its Advisory Editorial Board, which he so kindly accepted. He made several valuable suggestions for the *Research Bulletin* besides being a contributor to it. Though he could not see it in print, we are sure that his inspiration and guidance shall go a long way to make it one of the foremost jouranls in the discipline. Professor Shastri shall be remembered by all the students and scholars of Indology for the invaluable services rendered by him for all times to come.

Ashivini Agrawal

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Agrawal, Ashvini, Professor & Chairman, Dept. of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Bakre, Alka, Professor & Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Bombay, Mumbai-400 098.

Balambal, V., Ex-Professor & Head, Dept. of History, University of Madras, 159, 94th Street, 15th Sector, K.K. Nagar, Chennai-600 078.

Baruah, Girish, Dept. of Philosophy, D.K.D. College, P.O. Dergaon, Assam-785 614.

Bhagwat, Bhagyashree, Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, T.M.V. Nagar, Pune-411 037.

Bharadwaj, O.P., Former Director, Higher Education, Haryana & Ex-Veda Vyasa Professor of Indology, Kurukshetra University; 'Vagvihara', 465, Sector 7, Panchkula-134 109.

Bhardwaj, Vipnesh, Dept. of AIHC & A, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Bhattacharyya, D.C., Ex-Professor & Chairman, Dept. of Fine Arts, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Deambi, B.K. Kaul, Ex-Professor & Head, Dept. of Central Asian Studies, Srinagar; Mathura Vihar, Nawabi Road, Haldwani, Distt. Nainital.

Handa, Devendra, Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, Shimla-171 005.

Lokesh Chandra, Ex-Chairman, ICHR, J-22, Hauz Khas Enclave, New Delhi-110 016.

Manglam, S.J., Ex-Professor, Deccan College, Pune, E/7, Ganga Park-B Wing, Mundhwa Road, Pune.

(Martand), Mrinal Kaul, Dept. of Sanskrit, St. Stephen's College, Delhi-110 007.

Nirbhai Singh, Fellow, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Rashtrapati Niwas, Shimla-171 005.

Ojha, N.K., Reader, Dept. of Correspondence Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Prasher, R.N., IAS, 236, Sector 16-A, Chandigarh-160 016.

Raghbir Singh, Reader VVBIS & IS, Panjab University, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur-146 021.

Ram Gopal, Ex-Vice-Chancellor, M.D. University, Rohtak & Ex-Kalidasa Professor, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 3050, Sector 21-D, Chandigarh.

Rao, Nagendra, Lecturer in History, Goa University, Goa-403 206.

Ray, Bidyut Lata, Ex-Head, Dept. of Sanskrit, Nayagarh College, Nayagarh-752 069, Distt. Puri.

Rehani, V., Dept. of Sanskrit, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Sarma, I.K., Ex-Director, Archaeological Survey of India & Salarjung Museum; Flat No. 4, IInd Floor, Vidyanagar, Hyderabad 500 044.

Sharma, Arvind, Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, 3520, University Street, Montreal, PQ, Canada H3A 2A7.

Sharma Mahesh, Dept. of Evening Studies, Panjab University, Chandigarh-160 014.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra, Prachi, 23, Vidya Vihar, Rana Partap Nagar, Nagpur 440 022.

Shivapriya Devi, C/o Dr. Bidyut Lata Ray,

Thite, G.U., Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Pune, Pune-411 007.

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